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SOCIAL HISTORY**

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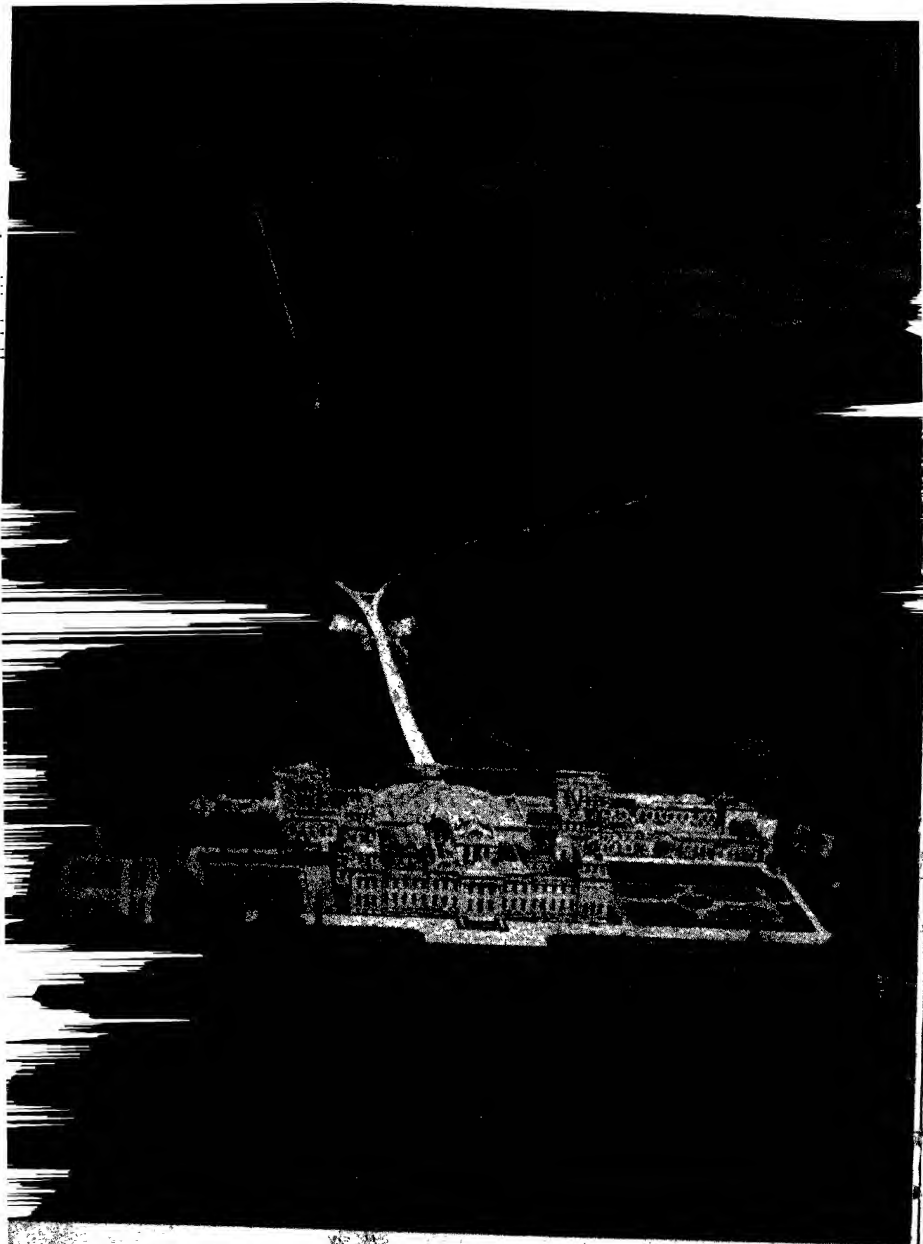
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L. A. G. STRONG



BLenheim PALACE

This elaborate building, begun in 1705 as a tribute to the military genius of the Duke of Marlborough and designed by Sir John Vanbrugh, represents the end of an epoch in domestic architecture. Thereafter no dwelling place of such magnificence without thought of cost was contemplated, and the more restrained Georgian style came into fashion. The park and gardens of Blenheim were designed by "Capability" Brown, the landscape gardener.

BRITISH SOCIAL HISTORY

By JAMES MAINWARING

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WITH SPECIALIST CONTRIBUTIONS BY

M. WILSON BROWN

(Prehistoric, Roman, and Saxon times)

AND

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON

Modern History The Edwardian Era to the Present Day

VOLUME TWO

From the Seventeenth Century to the
Present Day



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THE HOUSE OF COMMONS MEETING IN WESTMINSTER HALL c. 1640

The advent of the House of Stuart to the Throne of England in 1603 was the prelude to a struggle between King and Parliament which led to civil war. This in turn helped to establish the supremacy of Parliament and to the form of government which still prevails.

THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN

IN the sixteenth century, when the Tudors were ruling in England and, after 1535, in Wales, there were five distinct major regions in Great Britain, in each of which the population differed from that of the others in social, economic, and political development, in character, tradition, in degree of civilization, and, in fact, in most essentials. Moreover, the peoples of each considered themselves as forming a separate entity, and as such felt toward the rest, in varying degrees, that hostility which is born of jealously guarded independence. The five regions were England, Wales, the Border Lands, the Scottish Lowlands, and the Scottish Highlands.

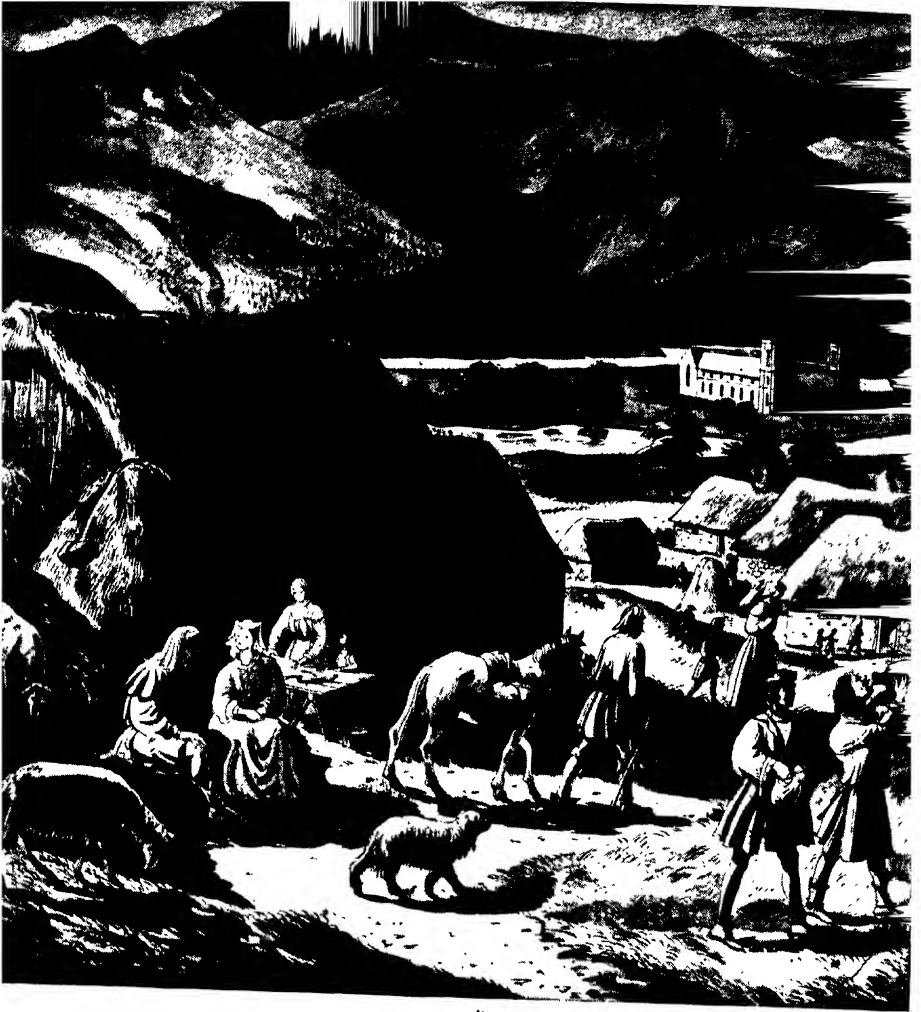
Even in the sixteenth century England was small in area and in population, fading toward the north and west, and vaguely disappearing beyond the Trent. Of the remaining four divisions, Wales even, in the fifteenth century, was most prepared for union with England, having, as we have previously observed, been brought under the general administrative system of England. Moreover, great parts of the country, particularly in the south, were extensively anglicized.

In the wild Border Lands between England and Scotland there persisted a state of feudal and tribal anarchy, encouraged by the traditional hostility between the Scottish and English peoples, and by their remoteness from the south of England, where civilization was most advanced. The Border Lands lay between two regions of developing civilization, for to the north lay the Scottish Lowlands, spreading from the rift valley along the north-east coastal plain, with towns and a growing commerce. There were, too, in the Lowlands extensive areas of poor farm-land. The towns and merchants had, in the main, little love for England, as the English commercial system did not tolerate Scottish competition. Nor was there much friendship between them and the Highlanders, the clansmen whose

first loyalty was to their own chieftains, each of whom regarded himself as an independent prince in his own district. To the Highlanders the English were hated foreign Sassenachs.

The dynasty which Wales gave to England saw the successful fusion of the Welsh and English nations. With the death of Elizabeth the Welsh dynasty was replaced by a Scottish one, but though Scotland and England were henceforward ruled by the same sovereign a century had to elapse before the Governments were united; nor for the greater part of another century could it be truly said that Great Britain was the home of a united British people.

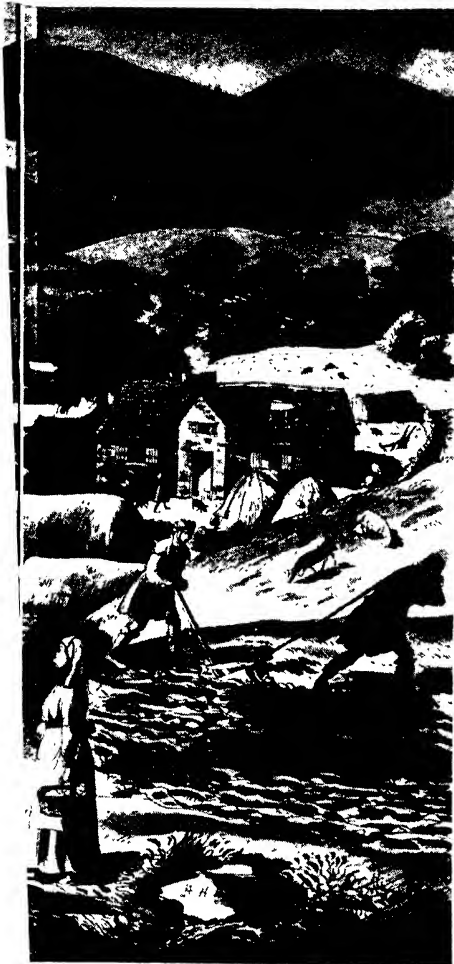
With the accession of Henry Tudor to the English throne in 1485 the most patriotic Welshmen could feel with pride that they had given England a king, and the development of friendly relations was simplified. The Wars of the Roses had tempted Marcher Lords to turn eastward for adventure, and most of their lands had passed into the hands of the King. In 1534 the way was prepared for union by the formation of the Council of Wales, of which the main function, like that of the Star Chamber, was the suppression of any surviving opposition to the Crown. Shortly after, in 1536, the first stage of the union was accomplished by an act which brought Wales fully into the system of English law, with representation in the English parliament. Monmouthshire was made an English county, with two representatives at Westminster. The borough of Monmouth also was given two members. Each of the twelve Welsh counties, and each of eleven Welsh boroughs, had one representative. The union was completed in 1542 by a further act, which incorporated the old palatine earldom of Cheshire into the general administrative system, with two county members and two for the city of Chester. Thus was accomplished the first extension of the British Commonwealth.



The Tudor system of using local gentry for the execution of the laws was extended to Wales, and much of the peaceful nature of the fusion of the two countries was due to the gratification of the Welsh gentry in their appointment as Justices of the Peace and Members of Parliament. Many of these men had profited, in the same way as had English gentry, by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the process had evoked less opposition in Wales even than in England. Jesuits left Wales alone, and the peasants, with the disinterestedness of ignorance, accepted the English Prayer Book as being at least no less intelligible than the Latin one had been. It was not

until late in Elizabeth's reign that a prayer book in Welsh was issued.

In the mountainous regions the peasants continued to live with little change of conditions, except that tribalism soon disappeared, and a new sense of security, imposed by the Council of Wales and the Justices of the Peace, replaced the barbarous insecurity implied in the dependence on the strong arm of a chieftain. But the heart of Wales continued to throb in the mountains and valleys, as it still does. The union did not silence the voice of Welsh poets and singers, and even today the aesthetic quality of the Welsh character has not lost its evergreen freshness. Yet the Welsh have



WELSH VILLAGE LIFE

During the sixteenth century great changes were made in the relationship of England and Wales. The way was prepared for a closer union of the two countries in the reign of Henry VIII by the setting up of a Council of Wales at Ludlow, the chief function of which was to suppress opposition to the Crown. In 1536 the first stage in the union was accomplished by an act which brought Wales fully into the system of English law, with representation in the English parliament. Later, the county palatine of Chester was included in the general system, also with representation in parliament. The introduction of this legislation, together with other reforms, resulted in the suppression of the disorder which had long been a feature of Welsh life. On the left is shown a peaceful village scene in a mountainous region of Wales in the sixteenth century. In the foreground are seen stone-built thatched cottages and peasants ploughing with a primitive hand-plough. In the background a castle of the type erected by Edward I after his conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century and a monastery are shown.

not achieved greatness in the art of musical composition, which, like architecture, is essentially a product of urbanization. True Wales has survived in the mystic folksong, the communal singing, and the competitive musical festival, as it has in the mountain cottage or the villages of the more remote valleys, rather than in the creation of the chamber or concert music of the towns, or the development of industrial areas where the intrusion of the English has tended to obscure it.

It was a wild region which separated the English and Scottish neighbours, the land of the Pennines, with their deep valleys and their gloomy, silent, limestone wastes

descending in the east to the moorlands and coastal plain, and butting, in the west, into the wilder grandeur of the Cumbrian Mountains and the Lake District. It was the land of the Cheviots and the uplands of southern Scotland, a region which altogether was about twice the size of Wales. That it had remained so untamed was not surprising. Border lands are left so that the frontiers may be the better guarded, and centuries of hostility had made the border marches an almost permanent raiding ground. Moreover, most of the valleys were too poor in natural resources to support the tribal peoples who dwelt in them, and dependence on raiding had become traditional.

Those who have wandered over the eastern slopes of the Pennines will recall the grey lonely wastes, where the plaintive cry of a lapwing or the bleating of a sheep may be the only intrusions into a seemingly endless silence. They will recall, too, the rock-strewn valleys, where streams rush down to swell the rivers which drain the coastal plain. In such valleys as these, and

in those of the Cumbrians and of the hills which lie to the north, were the hidden lairs of an almost barbarous people who could live only by including the produce of raids in their dietary. Their philosophy of life had much in common with that expressed in the dying words of Walter Scott's *Ranald of the Sons of the Mist*, spoken to his grandson, Kenneth, son of Eracht:

In the thicket of the wilderness, and in the mist of the mountain, keep thou unsoiled the freedom which I leave thee as a birth-right. Barter it not neither for the rich garment, nor for the stone-roof, nor for the covered board, nor for the couch of down—on the rock or in the valley, in abundance or in famine—in the leafy summer, and in the days of the iron winter—Son of the Mist! Be free as thy forefathers. Own no lord—receive no law—take no hire—give no stipend—build no hut—enclose no pasture—sow no grain—let the deer of the mountain be thy flocks and herds—if these fail thee, prey upon the goods of our oppressors—of the Saxons, and of such Gael as are Saxons in their souls, valuing herds and flocks more than honour and freedom.

Such was the philosophy of Gaelic outlaws, nor was it essentially different from that of Robin Hood, save, perhaps, in its typically Celtic poetic quality which Scott romanticized. Such, in the main, was the philosophy of the wild men of the Border Lands, but to the men of the coastal plain, and to their English neighbours of a more civilized south, they were simply turbulent barbarians, an ever-present danger, and meet for extermination.

Independence of the Borderers

It was no easy task even to subdue them, for most of their hidden lairs were almost inaccessible, tucked away behind bog-land over which they alone knew the passes, or lost in valley wood-land. Often their timber haunts were turf-covered as precaution against fire. A further obstacle to the imposition of order over this region was the jealous independence of the great feudal families, the Percies of Northumberland, the Nevilles of Westmorland, and of lesser though powerful princes who held stubbornly to their medieval feudal authority. Yet, because of the developing coastal regions neither the persistence of an obsolete feudalism nor that of primitive plundering could be much longer tolerated.

Mining was developing, as we have seen, in the Lake District, and coal-mining was well established in the Tyne Valley. On the eastern slopes of the southern Pennines, and on the Yorkshire moor-lands, there was extensive sheep-farming, and where the rivers cut through the plain there was more general farming. It was just these lands of the more economically independent coastal dwellers which were the most exposed to the sudden and devastating raids of the mountain tribal peoples.

Council of the North

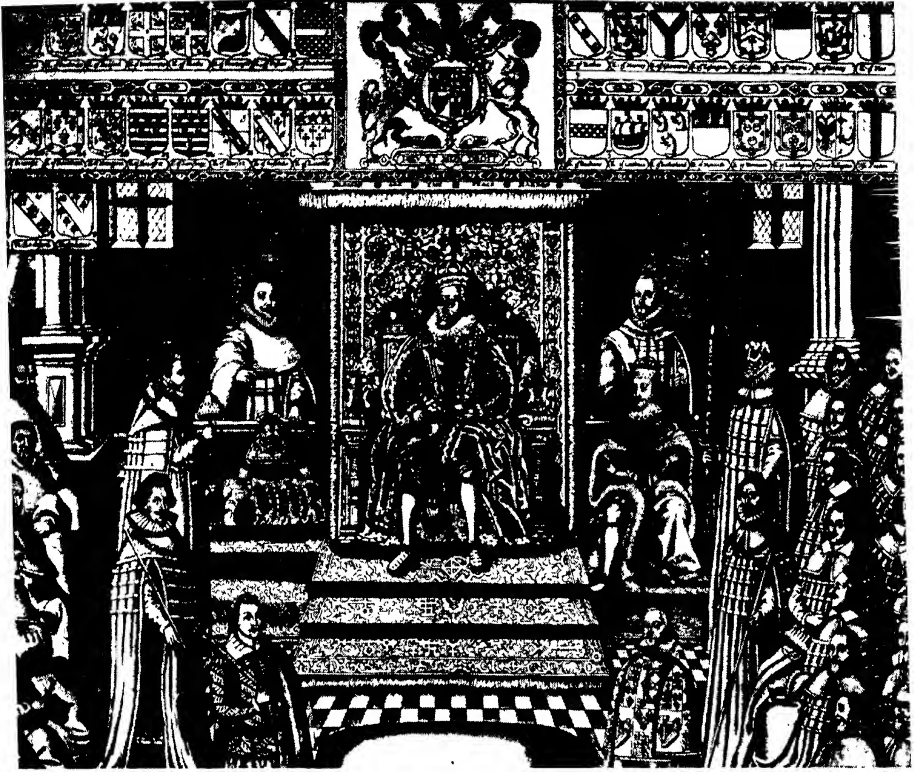
After the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536, Henry VIII established, without parliamentary sanction, the Council of the North, which, after the manner of the Court of the Star Chamber, began to impose some of the royal discipline over this wild region, but with only partial success. Torn between a desire to retain a virtual independence and that of establishing order, the lords and gentry of the Border Lands gave no more than half-hearted assistance to the English Crown, and, in 1570, were responsible for the most serious of the rebellions against Elizabeth. Its suppression led to the appointment of wardens of known loyalty and courage, and, under their leadership, to more vigorous efforts to drive the wild men of the valleys from their lairs. But not for another generation could it be truly said that the robbers of Redesdale and the terrorists of the North Tyne Valley had ceased to prey on their more prosperous neighbours.

The greater part of Scotland's scanty population of a million or so was, in the sixteenth century, necessarily concentrated in the Lowlands, in the valleys of the Clyde and the Forth, and spreading thence along the eastern coastal plain through Fife, Forfar, and Aberdeen. In this region there were developing towns, commerce, industries, and culture. After James Stuart (the name was changed from Stewart by his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots) had become James I of England, the deserted castle of Holyrood frowned down on the city of Edinburgh as a symbol that Scottish interests were in future subordinate to those of England. The export trade of the Lowland towns, mainly in coal, salt, lead, and raw wool, was very largely confined



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, WITH LORD DARNLEY

The descriptions which appear under this early print read as follows: "The most illustrious Prince Henry, Lord Darnley, King of Scotland, father to our sovereigne lord, King James. He died at the age of 21, 1567." "The most excellent Princesse Marie, Queane of Scotland, mother of our sovereigne lord, King James. She died 1586 and intombed at Westminster." Henry, Lord Darnley, was a descendant of Henry VII. He married Mary, Queen of Scots, daughter of James V of Scotland, in 1565, and was murdered on the night of 10 February, 1567, at Kirk-o'-Field, Edinburgh. Uncertainty whether Mary herself was implicated was a contributory cause of the subsequent rebellion during which Mary fled to England. Their son, James VI of Scotland, became James I of England in 1603.



JAMES I IN PARLIAMENT

Proclaimed King of Scotland on 24 July, 1567, when only thirteen months old, after the abdication of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, James succeeded to the throne of England in 1603. In the fifteen years before his accession to the English throne he had succeeded in restoring a great deal of order in Scotland and reduced the lawlessness of the Scottish barons.

to the markets of Norway, Denmark, and Holland. Consequently it was the merchants of these towns, many with Saxon blood in their veins, who were later to see in a union with England the only hope for Scottish trade

The towns, excluding Edinburgh, were small; Glasgow, second in size but the most important port, had a population probably of little more than twelve or thirteen thousand. But though small, three of them, Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, in addition to Edinburgh, had universities. Yet even in Edinburgh the streets were still the repository for household refuse, and, as geographical restrictions had tended to force Edinburgh to grow vertically, as later was to happen in New York, the rubbish hurled from ten or twelve storeys must

have been considerable. It was usually thrown out in the evening, to the discomfort of late revellers, and cleared away in the morning, except on Sundays, when it remained in the streets all day! Most of the towns were little more than coastal fishing-villages, deriving what little wealth they had from North Sea herrings. Attempts to develop an export trade in cloth were restricted not only by English competition but by the Scottish sheep-farmers, who had already found markets for their wool.

This progressive urban life was, however, very concentrated, and but a little distance from the towns was the typical lowland scenery, of almost treeless moorland, wastes of unfenced pasture, and scattered islands of poor and ill-kept arable. Miserable one-storeyed huts of rough-hewn

stone or even of turf, shared by peasants and animals, formed straggling villages. Furniture, even of the crudest, would be rare, and a heap of turf or a stone would often have to serve as the only seat. A peat fire in the centre of the hut would add grime and discomfort to a home already sufficiently comfortless. Crevices in the walls might be stuffed with straw to keep out some of the cold north winds, and it was not unknown for the thatch to be seized to help to fertilize the laird's land.

The laird's house would be an ugly and capriciously extended cluster of rooms, with a courtyard, barns, stables, and store-houses. The whole constituted a primitive farm, which had to support the laird's family and the peasant workers. The arable land included an "outfield," which the peasants worked for themselves, except for the share of produce demanded by the laird, and an "infield," which corresponded to the English lord's demesne. This infield had to be ploughed, sown, tended, and harvested by the peasants. The home-made ploughs were crude and cumbersome, drawn by oxen as hungry and lean as the peasants themselves must have been. Oats and barley were the main crops. Except in the Lothians, where stone walls were beginning to appear, there was no enclosure, and cattle were driven on to the hillside pastures during the day, and brought back to byre or peasant's hut at night. Possibly to ensure that an adequate share of the milk found its way to the laird's table, milking was supervised by the laird's wife.

The Lowland Peasants •

Under such an economic system food must have been scarce and hunger frequent. The typical Lowland peasant was, indeed, half hunter still, depending on hares, grouse, partridge, salmon, and trout. The red deer which had once been common over the Lowlands had already begun to disappear into the wilder shelters of the Highlands.

The lairds themselves, poor and proud, were not feudal vassals in the English sense, though they regarded themselves as traditionally bound to serve the nobles who were still chieftains of their respective clans. The Lowland clans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included the

Hamiltons, in the Clyde Valley, the Lindsay, north and south of the Forth estuary, the Gordons and Maxwells of Galloway, and the Gordons of Aberdeen. A call to arms for offensive or defensive fighting would have found few missing amongst any who could have carried arms, and even in the eighteenth century many would have brought such primitive weapons as bows and arrows, axes and daggers.

Lowland Cattle-farming

Thus in the Lowlands mingled the old and the new, the tribal society and the urban, the self-supporting rural community and the commercial. In the south-west capitalism had already begun to change conditions in rural life, for many landlords had become commercial sheep-farmers and stock-breeders, selling their produce to English buyers. Small as yet as were the English cattle, the Scottish were smaller, for their main summer food was poor moorland pasture, there were no root crops for the supply of winter fodder, only a small proportion could be kept through the winters, and of the survivors of these many had literally to be carried back to the spring pastures at "lifting" time. Yet it is of importance that a struggling commerce and young industries were developing in the Scottish Lowlands, together with a growing urbanized life and progressive culture, for all these things demanded, for their future thriving, union with England.

That geographical factors exercise an enormous influence on human development is a commonplace, yet it is a truth often neglected by teachers and writers of history. Across the "Highland Line" lived a wild and rugged people, as hard as the mountains, as strong, and as poor, their spirit of independence as indestructible as the hard rock which sheltered them, yet graced with the spirit of poetry which breathes through the beauty of the Highlands. Each valley sheltered its clan, whose chieftain recognized little authority other than those of custom and his own will. Between the chieftain and the poorest of his clan was an almost fraternal relationship of equality, or, rather, of kindredship, and of loyalty born of common interests long shared. Tribal feuds were lasting, and

deadly, and inter-tribal raids were fierce and ruthless.

Time had given to some of the chieftains, as to the Campbells, of Argyll, a great power, and many had built for themselves almost impregnable fortresses, symbols of the weakness inherent in any tribal organization, the inter-tribal jealousies which later were to help in the subjugation of the Highlands. Lesser chieftains had homes like those we have described as existing in the Lowlands—straggling clusters of farm buildings, nestling in a valley, almost socially isolated except for the peasant members of their clan. From the stony, soil-denuded mountainside crofters would have to scratch a living for themselves and a surplus for the chief of the clan and for his household. Over them the chieftain had the power of life and death, for there was no authority able to supersede him.

Any organized defence or offence by the clans as a whole was wellnigh impossible. War meant raiding, plundering, and

the return to home when the raid was accomplished. Chieftains regarded their aid to another chieftain, however much more powerful he might be, as voluntary, and they were liable to withdraw from a campaign, with their followers, when they had had enough of it. Neither did they care to leave unprotected for long their womenfolk, or to leave to those at home the care of their land. Private feuds would prevent one clan from fighting side by side with another, and, once the clan was in arms, the temptation to leave the planned action to make a raid on a private enemy was often too strong to be resisted. So the great Montrose, head of the Highland forces fighting for Charles I in the Civil War, turned from the prospect of a successful march into England to attack the hated Marquis of Argyll, head of the house of Campbell.

Argyll, in common with many other of the greater chieftains, was a cultured nobleman, at home in the polished French and

THE CASTLE AND CITY OF EDINBURGH

This print shows the City of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. Founded probably in the seventh century by Edwin, King of Northumbria, and named after him, Edinburgh was not recognized as the capital city of Scotland until the fifteenth century, though it was created a borough by Robert the Bruce. After James VI left Scotland in 1603 to become the English sovereign, Edinburgh started on a period of decline and never entirely recaptured its earlier position. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, there was much building activity





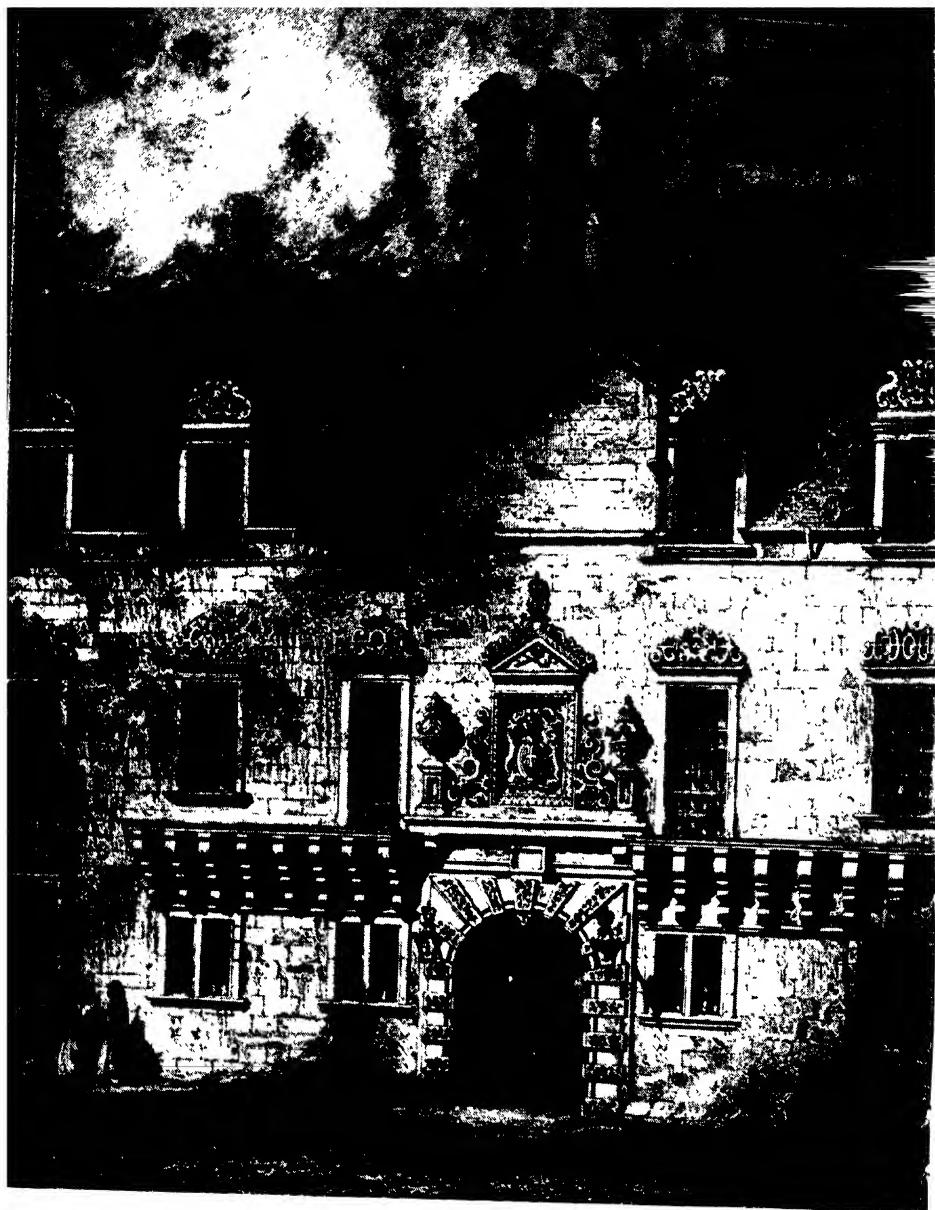
FISHERMAN'S HUT IN THE HEBRIDES

From Stuart times onwards there was a sharp distinction between social life in the relatively few sizable towns of Scotland and in the countryside at large. In fact, at the turn of the sixteenth century relatively little of Scotland had been brought under cultivation. The Lowland belt was comparatively prosperous but the Highlands remained poor and neglected. The standard of living of the Highland peasants was low, and in the Hebrides conditions were even worse and the crofters were never far removed from starvation. This fisherman's hut is typical of the housing conditions of this depressed class until the eighteenth century.

English society of Edinburgh. Others were still just tribal chieftains, with none of the urban arts. But all were proud, hospitable, independent, and loyal to their clans; and in their halls, great or small, was ever the modal music of the harp or the bagpipe.

Hard as was life in the Highland valleys, yet harder was it in the islands, particularly the smaller islands of the west, little rocks against which the Atlantic beats in vain. Drifting sand, blown by the wind into rocky

hollows, is the ground in which the crops are grown, and, secure from raids, each island community has developed as a peaceful, social unity, with what Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser has described as "a civilization of the hearth." Round the hearth the women cook, spin, and weave, and, often, wait with anxiety the return of their fishermen husbands and sons. It is this society which has produced the magical music of the Hebridean folk-songs, sung



GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

Glasgow University was one of the first universities to be founded in Scotland, and together with those of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews made an important contribution to Scottish learning, especially in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The university was founded by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1450 and was not rebuilt for nearly five hundred years. This drawing shows the elaborate highly decorated façade as it was about the year 1840.

for centuries to the accompaniment of the undying music of the wind and the sea.

Two groups of events were destined to change the course of Scottish history for all time, and to end at last the long period of strife with England: they were the events consequent on the growth of a reaction against the increasing French influence at Edinburgh, and those of the Reformation.

The traditional friendship with France had begun to bring unnecessary disasters to Scotland, and even to threaten Scottish independence. Three times in the reign of Henry VIII of England active alliance with France, when England was at war, had led to appalling Scottish disasters, in 1513 at Flodden, in 1542 at Solway Moss, and, in 1523, before an English army which ravaged the Lowlands and claimed to leave "neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, nor other succour of man." James V, whom the shame of Solway Moss killed, had had two French queens, leaving one, Mary of Guise, the widowed mother of the infant queen, Mary. Six years later, after an English army had attempted to force a marriage between the child queen and Edward VI of England, a Frenchman landed in Scotland, established Mary of Guise as regent, placed Frenchmen in the more important offices, and carried off Mary to France, where she married the Dauphin. "Now France and Scotland are one state," said the French king, and it was the danger that this might become an established reality that created a nationalist party which turned to England for help.

The Scottish Reformation •

Meanwhile had begun the great religious revolution. The Scottish Church was in poor plight. Its wealth absorbed half that of the kingdom; its bishops, drawn from noble families, were in the main worldly and turbulent; its priests were poor, ignorant, often corrupt. It was riddled throughout with superstition. Lollard preachers and other English reformers had found willing listeners in the Lowland towns, where a rapidly developing scholarship found no satisfaction in a Church the practices^o of which it despised. One great preacher, George Wishart, before being burnt at the stake, is said to have been responsible for the conversion of John

Knox, the great Calvinist who was to lay the foundation of the Scottish Presbyterianism. Three months after Wishart's death, Cardinal Beaton, who was responsible for his execution, was murdered, and his castle at St. Andrews became for a time the resort of the Protestant rebels. After suffering a long siege they were forced to surrender, and the survivors, including Knox, were sent to row as slaves in French galleys. John Knox escaped after enduring this for nineteen months.

During the regency of Mary of Guise, while Mary Stuart was in France, and Mary Tudor was burning Protestants in England, the Scottish Protestants and the opponents of the French régime merged into a national party, which was led by Lord James Stewart, Earl of Moray, an illegitimate elder brother of the Queen. Many nobles joined the earl, and called themselves "Lords of the Congregation." In 1557 they made a solemn "covenant" with God, swearing to defend their faith.

Triumph of Nationalists

The accession of Elizabeth, a Protestant, to the English throne in 1558 encouraged the Scottish nationalists to hope for English help. The court party, driven into active resistance, assisted by French troops, attacked the nationalists, who, after struggling for a year, were reinforced by an English fleet. Its arrival probably saved Scottish nationalism. The death of Mary of Guise took the heart out of the defence, and a treaty placed the government in the hands of twelve Scottish nobles.

During the peaceful years which followed, Presbyterianism was established as the national religion of Scotland. In the *Book of Discipline* drawn up by Knox, who had returned in 1559, a comprehensive scheme of general reform was to be imposed on the nation. This included a system of national education, one of poor relief, and the supervision of local morality by the elected minister and the elected lay elders or presbyters who were to assist him. From these elders and ministers were to be elected the members of the General Assembly, which would thus be at once the head of the Kirk and of the State. A modified *Book of Discipline*, the work of Andrew Melville, was formally adopted in 1592.



CHARLES II BEFORE THE RESTORATION

This cartoon, published in a broadsheet in 1651, is entitled: "The Scots holding their young King's nose to the grindstone." The reference is to the fact that when Charles became King of Scotland he was forced to agree to accept very severe terms. He swore to observe the Solemn League and Covenant, he gave the control of public affairs to the Commons and all Church affairs to the Kirk, and undertook to establish the Presbyterian religion in all Britain. He was crowned at Scone in 1651. Immediately afterwards he marched at the head of a Scottish army into England, but was defeated by Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester on 3 September and was subsequently forced to take refuge in France.

Though James I of England and VI of Scotland hated Presbyterianism, which answered his claim to be a divinely appointed sovereign by calling him "God's silly vassal," it was left to his son, Charles I, and Archbishop Laud to make the experiment of enforcing the Anglican ritual in the Presbyterian Lowlands. The attempt led to riots, riots to armed resistance, and this in turn to a war which Charles had not the money to pursue. Charles had no option but to recall parliament after eleven years' rule without it, and parliament's demands

drove Charles to set up his standard at Nottingham. The Civil War had begun.

Meanwhile, in 1581, the Scots, at a General Assembly which has been described as the most democratic and national assembly that has ever met, had abolished episcopacy, and the Anglican liturgy, reaffirmed that Presbyterianism was the national religion of Scotland, and resolved that every parish was to provide schools at the public expense.

The English Civil War went well at first for the Royalists, and in 1643 the rebellious



CONDEMNED COVENANTERS

Condemned Covenanters are shown in this contemporary print being escorted down West Bow, Edinburgh. Edinburgh was one of the main centres of the long struggle between the Presbyterian Church and Prelacy; the latter part of Charles II's reign in particular was marked by a number of incidents and the execution of many Covenanters, the name given to the militant Presbyterians who by force of arms sought to implement the Solemn League and Covenant signed in 1643. This Solemn League and Covenant was denounced by Charles II in 1661, although it had been confirmed by him the previous year.



THE MARCH TO FINCHLEY

Hogarth is the artist who drew this picture, which depicts the army which set out to fight Prince Charles and the Highland army in 1745. Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, grandson of James II, was proclaimed King of Scotland in 1745. After initial successes he invaded England at the head of a Scottish army and actually reached Derby. He was finally defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at the Battle of Culloden, and after a series of adventures which have become legendary, when he moved from place to place in disguise, he escaped to France and spent the rest of his long life in exile.

forces asked help from Scotland. It was promised on condition that Presbyterianism should be established in England and later in Ireland; and, though many of the Puritans of the parliamentary forces objected to the rigid intolerance of the Calvinistic system, the condition was accepted, and recorded in The Solemn League and Covenant. Accordingly, a Scottish force invaded the north of England, and, joined by Cromwell's Ironsides, helped to defeat the Royalists at the Battle of Marston Moor, 1644.

But Scotland was not yet a united nation, loyalty to the Scottish sovereign, and jealousy of the Marquis of Argyll, leader

of the Kirk party, roused many of the Highland clans to take up arms under Montrose for the King. After early successes, and the ravaging of the Campbell territory of Argyll, his followers began to return home. The Scottish army hastened from England and defeated the remnant of Montrose's army at Philiphaugh. There is no need to follow the rest of the story of war and intrigue before the defeat of the Royalists and the execution of Charles I on 30 January, 1649. His death did not represent a victory for freedom or for lawful rule. Rather did Charles stand as the representative of justice arraigned before an unlawful court supported only by

the sword. A revulsion of horror followed his execution, in England, in Europe, and in Scotland. Many even of the Presbyterians, some in the knowledge that Presbyterianism was as hateful to Cromwell as was Episcopalianism, others in loyalty to the Scottish crown, began to intrigue with the young exiled King Charles II, who landed in Scotland in 1650.

The Restoration

Charles, with some reluctance, signed the Covenant, and with an army under David Leslie prepared to invade England. Cromwell forestalled the invasion and, in his most brilliant victory, defeated the Scots at Dunbar. But they refused to yield, re-formed before Stirling and, cut off from the Highlands by Cromwell, who had crossed the Forth estuary, they decided to invade England. Charles found few to support him, and though he reached Worcester, it was the end. His force was almost annihilated. Charles escaped after astonishing adventures. A small force, under George Monk, was sufficient to complete the conquest of Scotland. It was this same Monk who, in 1660, engineered the Restoration, and the return of Charles II.

The Restoration brought nothing but misery and persecution to the Scots. Absolute rule through a Privy Council of royal nominees was re-established. The Covenant was declared unlawful, and, though no attempt was made to re-impose the Anglican ritual, the Kirk was made subordinate to the Crown. The extreme Calvinists of the south-west refused to accept such a compromise, nor could persecution break their resistance. With the spread of the revolt persecution was increased, and, through the period known as "Killing Time," Covenanters were hunted down like wild animals, and tortured and slain on capture. To many it was increasingly obvious that only union with England could save Scotland. Hostility to England had brought little other than persecution and suffering. Continued independence implied continued exclusion from English and colonial markets.

The question of the union of England and Scotland became one of political urgency when the English Act of Settlement, in 1701, established the succession in

the German House of Hanover, should Anne leave no surviving heir. In 1703 the Scottish parliament, by the Act of Security, reserved the right to appoint Anne's successor in Scotland, unless there were conditions whereby the religious, commercial, and political freedom of Scotland should be preserved "from England or any foreign influence." Clearly, this act did not preclude the possibility of union. There was considerable opposition to the project of union in Scotland, chiefly from extreme Presbyterians and from the "Jacobites," that is, from those who accepted Anne's Roman Catholic half-brother, James Edward, as the rightful heir to the throne.

The Jacobites drew their main support from the Highlands, where Roman Catholicism still survives, where the Sassenachs were still hated in the eighteenth century, where a Stewart was a Stewart whatever else he might be, and where the commercial interests of the Lowland merchants had no significance. The commercial interests prevailed, and a bill drafted in 1706 was accepted, though by a slender majority, by the Scottish parliament on 1 May, 1707. On that date the kingdoms of England and Scotland were merged into the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

The Act of Union

The Act of Union ended the life of the Scottish parliament, and Scottish representatives in future took their seats in the British parliament at Westminster. The Scots were permitted to retain their own educational system, their legal system, and their church organization. The British House of Lords, which was to include sixteen Scottish elected peers, was to be the final court of appeal. English trading privileges were extended to Scotland.

Though the union was so much to the advantage of Scotland, it roused, especially in the Highlands, a long-lasting resentment. Patriots objected to union with "the auld enemy"; rigid Presbyterians objected to union with a country whose national religion was Episcopalian; others objected to a loss of independence for essentially commercial advantages.

In 1714 Anne died, and George of Hanover became king of Great Britain. The Jacobites, maintaining that the old

Act of Security was still valid, claimed the right to nominate the king of Scotland, and began to intrigue for the accession of James Edward. Help was expected from France, and from English Roman Catholics. On 13 November, 1715, a large army of Highland Jacobites, under the Earl of Mar, retreated after an indecisive fight with the loyalist Argyll on Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, and when, a few weeks later, the Pretender landed in Scotland, the rebellion was over.

Many causes had contributed to the failure of the "Fifteen." The death of Louis XIV removed all hope of help from France; a possible rising in England or Wales was forestalled; the leader of the Highland rebellion, the Earl of Mar, was incompetent, and so unreliable that he was known as "Bobbing John." James Edward himself was foolish and obstinate.

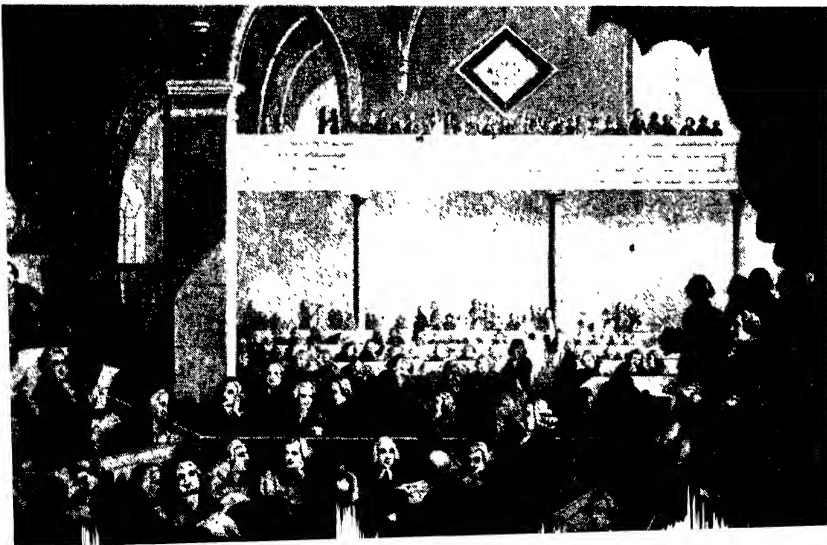
The story ends with the romantic adventure of the "Forty-five," the attempt of James Edward's son, the "Young Chevalier," Charles Edward, to gain the throne. A much more attractive person than his father, at least until failure had spoilt him,

the Young Pretender found enthusiastic supporters when he landed at Moidart in western Scotland in the summer of 1745, and unfurled his standard at Glenfinnan. Wearing Highland costume, sharing the hardships of the Highlanders, he marched with gathering supporters to Edinburgh, which he reached within a month. The city welcomed him, and at night a ball was held in the Palace of Holyrood. Four days later the young prince and his excited followers met and destroyed the force sent to meet him. London was in a panic. George II was preparing flight, and, on "Black Friday," 6 December, with the Highlanders at Derby, there was a run on the Bank of England.

If there ever had been any danger, it was already past. There was no help from the English, and the Highlanders, increasingly worried as the distance from their homes increased, gradually deserted the prince and returned to the Highlands. Retreat was imperative, and it was a very different experience from the advance which had begun so hopefully. The increasingly ill-disciplined troops, plundering when they

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN SESSION

Here the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is shown in conference in the year 1783. Among the many notable delegates shown are the Earl of Dalhousie, Lord High Commissioner (seated beneath the canopy on right); and Dr. Spence, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland (standing immediately in front of the Earl). Throughout the eighteenth century the power of the General Assembly was supreme, but was marked by moderate counsels and statesmanlike conduct, especially in the latter half of the century.





EDINBURGH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

This painting of the castle and market by A. W. Callcott shows how little Edinburgh had been modernized by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The tradition of many-storeyed residences, especially among the professional classes, persisted virtually unchanged since the seventeenth century; though most of the fronts of the houses had been modernized, the interiors in many cases were unaltered. The castle is seen on the right.

could, were stoned in towns where before they had been cheered. Across the Border, Charles Edward was reinforced, and defeated a royal force under General Hawley at Falkirk. The end came in April, when all that was left of the Prince's forces was defeated at Culloden Moor by the Duke of Cumberland, whose savage reprisals earned him the name of "The Butcher." Charles escaped and, though a price was placed on his head, none would betray him. After adventurous wandering in the Highlands he escaped to France—and with

him vanished the age-old life of the Highlands. The clan system was abolished, the wearing of the tartan was forbidden, and the Highlands were brought under the central system of law and government. It was left for Pitt to sublimate the fighting genius and the invincible courage of the Highlanders by forming the Highland Regiments which began in the French wars to add so much to the prestige of British arms. In whatever parts of the world British settlers have sought new homes there have been Scottish pioneers in the vanguard.

Test Yourself

1. Illustrate, from the history of Anglo-Scottish relations, the importance of geographical factors in human development.
2. What arguments would you advance if you were discussing the proposition that the Welsh are a more musical people than the English?
3. To what extent would you consider it correct to describe the clan organization of the Scottish Highlanders as feudal?
4. What did Scotland gain and lose by the Union of Great Britain?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

CHAPTER XIV

PURITAN ENGLAND

"THE cleare profittes of my wheat and barlye comes to more than I layd out in those thinges by the summe of clxix, xvijs, ixd. (£169 17s. 9d.). The Lorde my god be magnified and glorified for these his great mercies towards me unworthy thereof."

So wrote, in his farming accounts, Robert Loder, of the village of Harwell, on the north side of the Berkshire Downs, in 1611. Loder was one of some thousands of substantial farmers of Jacobean England, and, like most of them, his main interest in farming, and, indeed, in life, was in making a profit. Equally characteristically he had turned his attention "back to the land," finding the growing of wheat and barley more profitable than sheep-farming. Finally, he was a Puritan, at least to the extent of having that typically Puritan kind of faith which, while it led him to attribute to God the responsibility for his profits and losses, did not prevent him from making experiments. Loder, like most seventeenth-century farmers, was an "improver." As four-fifths of England's population were still rural, it may be worth while to glance for a moment at Loder's life and farm, both of which resembled so closely some thousands of others.

Harwell, some three hundred years ago, was a little village consisting of a few scattered cottages, clustering along the crossroads which still connect it with Wallingford in the east, Wantage in the west, Abingdon and Oxford in the north, and Newbury some fifteen miles to the south. Bad as were most roads at that time, all these market-towns were accessible by horse, waggon, or cart. Harwell had only two arable fields, the West and East Fields, extending round the south side of the village, and they were still worked on the open-strip system. There were, too, meadowland, pastures, and orchards.

Loder owned some one hundred and fifty acres of the arable land, and though

some of this land had been consolidated into "blocks," the rest was still scattered as strips among the similar lands of his neighbours. None of it was permanently enclosed, and a network of balks and paths crossed the fields, to serve as the only boundaries. In addition Loder had about one hundred acres of enclosed down, various scattered enclosures, four orchards, some meadowland, and grazing rights on the common.

By name and occupation at least, many of the cottagers are known, for most of them were farm-workers whom Loder employed from time to time on his farm. There was Dick, the shepherd, whose wages were £2 a year, with "meat and drinke" calculated as worth about £10. William Weston and Cottes threshed his wheat and barley for sixpence to eightpence a day. John Loder, one of his tenants, with James Haslee, mowed his barley. The services of William Weston, his carter, were more expensive, costing him in one year over £11. There were, too, a thatcher, with his assistant "yowler," the man who held the "yowles" of straw; John Austen the harrower; a smith; a carpenter; and many others, all doing specialized hired work. Many were his tenants, and included in the accounts is the rent owed by his grandfather, John Ford, and though this was only one penny a year, it was the only one unpaid! Of his two domestic maids, Colle and Alice, he never could resist an expression of regret that he should have to pay and feed them when there was no ostensible profit from their services.

As one of the two arable fields was left fallow each year, the crops of any one year had to be grown alternately in the West Field and the East Field. Though more varied crops were grown in other parts of England, Loder planted only wheat, barley, peas, and vetches, of which the last two provided part of the forage for his animals. His horses, which did so much of his



PREACHING WEAVERS

During the seventeenth century the study of the Bible became more widespread, and Bibles got into the hands of men to whom books were as yet sufficiently rare to inspire implicit belief in their truth and to whom the Scriptures were the literal and direct revelation of God. Many ceased to rely on the Church's traditional interpretation and began to discuss and preach about the contents for themselves. Above are Richard Farnham of Whitechapel and John Bull of Aldgate, two weavers who were imprisoned in 1636 for sectarian preaching.

work in summer and winter alike, were well tended. Malt, vetches, and peas were added to their diet during summer grazing, and he bought beans and oats to add to their winter ration of hay, chaff, and malt. For his cattle and sheep, in which he was less interested, a winter diet of straw usually had to suffice, which explains why this farmer, whose household, including workers, usually numbered ten or eleven, had to buy considerable quantities of milk, butter, and cheese. His pigs he kept for his family table.

As has been stated, Loder's main interest in life seems to have been that of making his farm yield the greatest possible monetary profit. He preferred to pay fines and bribes to avoid public duties, and his accounts for 1613 include the gift of "a

bushell of mault to the bayliffe" to avoid attendance "at the sessions." His interest in the struggle already beginning between King and Commons was restricted to the periodic payments he had to make to "the kinges maiestie." But this profit making interest had the value of prompting Loder and others to make experiments. He found that his hay crop was increased by watering the meadows; "wherfor watering did much good (by the blessing of the Lorde) this year. A worke it is worthy and very needful to be followed and done yearly." He experimented with different kinds of natural manures, making notes of their cost and of differences in yield. Finding that his wheatlands, the strips of the arable field sown with wheat, gave a better profit than did the barleylands, he increased the acreage

under wheat, and also, as far as was possible in the one field, made some experiments with rotation. Resenting the annual cost of temporary enclosures by the use of mounds, Loder contemplated permanent enclosures by the use of hedges, but apparently did not carry out the scheme. It was this kind of experimentation, already becoming general, which culminated in the "agricultural revolution" of the following century. The possibilities in arable farming were just being discovered, and were creating a new and a scientific interest.

Arable Farming

There were several reasons for this transference of interest from sheep-farming to tillage. As industry increased in importance, towns, growing in population, began to rely more on the food which could be bought from nearby country districts. There was, thus, a ready and growing market for corn. Meat was, as yet, a much less certain farming interest. There was little winter food for cattle or sheep until the general introduction of root crops in the next century, and except on the porous chalk and limestone pastures there was always risk of the loss of the greater part of a flock of sheep, owing to the tendency of the land to become waterlogged. In one year Loder lost about four hundred of a flock of about five hundred sheep. Moreover, the earlier conversion of considerable tracts of arable land to sheep-farming for the wool markets had led to alarm and national reaction. In 1597 an act had been passed "for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage." The reasons for the act, quoted in its preamble, are interesting: "The strength and flourishing estate of this kingdom hath been always and is greatly upheld and advanced by the maintenance of the plough"; people are thereby "withdrawn from idleness, drunkenness, unlawful games and all other lewd practices"; "the greater part of the subjects are preserved from extreme poverty in a competent estate of maintenance and means to live"; and "the realm doth more stand upon itself, without depending upon foreign countries." Already a nationalist conception of English trade, based on the mercantilist principle of maximum exportation, and minimum importation, so that there

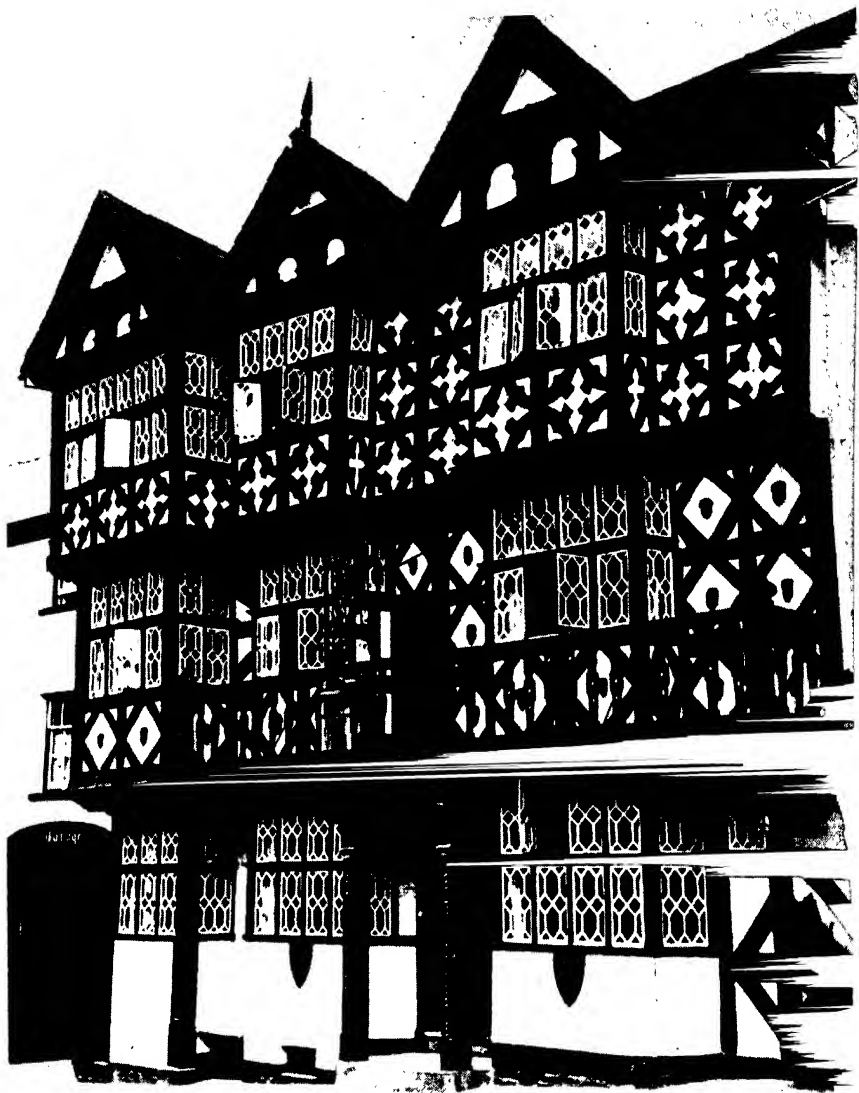
could be a profit in gold, was influencing rural life and processes.

So the wheat and malt, the apples, pears, and cherries of Loder's and of many similar farms went to neighbouring market-towns, by roads that were often little better than cart-tracks, or to river-towns, to be carried thence by barge to bigger towns and cities. With other occasional profits (he once sold some hay), and his rents, Loder's annual income ranged from about £200 to £300, which was considerable for those days. In an attempt to estimate and to classify the English population, made by Gregory King about 1696, the number of farming families with an average annual income of £42 10s. was given as 150,000, which, allowing for an average of five persons in each household, absorbed 750,000 of the total estimated population of 5½ millions. And it has to be recalled that Loder's was not a large farm.

Life on the Farm

How far is it possible to visualize his home? The farmhouse itself was thatched, and badly thatched when Loder first took possession of it from his uncle. Not until he had been in occupation for eight years does it appear to have had a chimney, for in 1618 his accounts include a reference to "Money layd aboute my Chimney, built in Anno supradicto." His wife Mary, whom he had sought in the neighbouring village of Sutton Courtenay, bore him children with dutiful regularity, and though she found time occasionally to ride with him, for he bought her a saddle, she could have had little other pleasure. There could have been little comfort in the house, for the purchases for it are negligible. Other than necessary equipment he bought nothing of significance for the house except a "chair with rodde" for his bedroom. Regularly the family washing must have been about, for amongst the regular household purchases were "sope," starch, and "powder blew."

Every year Loder brought back from market similar goods for the home: candles, hops, and salt; fruit, including raisins, currants, and prunes; spices, of which he mentions cinnamon, mace, pepper, cloves, and ginger, for these were still necessary for the cured and pickled



THE FEATHERS HOTEL, LUDLOW

One of the most picturesque of the many old inns of the West Country, the Feathers, at Ludlow, is dated 1603. Its façade, now beautifully restored, probably dates in fact as well as tradition from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, as evidenced by a beautifully carved overmantel with the arms of Charles I. In the seventeenth century, before the use of brick had become general, half-timbered buildings were the rule in all parts of the country which were well wooded and especially in the counties bordering on Wales, including Shropshire, where the countryside had been well afforested since early times.



HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE

One of the most richly built and perfectly maintained houses of the seventeenth century, Hatfield House has been in the possession of the Cecil family, Earls of Salisbury, since 1607, when James I exchanged it for the Theobalds estate near Cheshunt. Originally a Tudor mansion, Hatfield was largely rebuilt immediately after its transfer to the Cecil family and a new west wing in the richest style of the period was added between 1608 and 1611. This wing was severely damaged by fire in 1835, but has been carefully restored. The whole house is one of the finest examples of an early seventeenth-century mansion.

winter meat, of which huge quantities were bought in the autumn. Sometimes he bought rice and sugar, and once he brought home some oysters. During Lent greater quantities of milk, butter, cheese, and fish were bought. Occasionally he entertained, and the cost of the hospitality extended for six weeks toward his brother John, John's wife, and maid, is duly entered in the accounts as an estimated extravagance of £3 10s.

One can imagine in the big kitchen, which served as living-room for the family and servants, Loder reading aloud, in the evening, by the light of candles the Bible which he knew so well and could quote so readily. Across one wall would be the cupboard or dresser, with pewter and wooden platters, added to the scanty furniture in 1614 at a cost of fifteen shillings. It would at least have been restful, for during daylight there was little time for leisure. For the women, in addition to the endless round of washing, brewing, cooking, cleaning, child-bearing, mending, and the like, there were seasonal duties. In the autumn, while

the land was being ploughed, animals housed for the winter, fodder prepared and stored, corn threshed and winnowed, and so on, the meat of slaughtered animals, together with that bought, had to be cured and pickled for the late autumn and winter food. January and February, with more ploughing and harrowing, brought young pigs and lambs, if winter rations of straw, in the case of the ewes, permitted the reproductive process to function. While the fields were being planted with barley, in March, dairy work was occupying the farmer's wife. In June the sheep had to be shorn, and, though more clothes were now being bought, domestic woollen industry had not yet disappeared from many households. In July the hay was harvested and ricked, the fallow land was "yerled," or ploughed, and early fruit was gathered and taken to the markets. With the corn harvests of August the annual routine ended, and the year's profits could be calculated.

There is something not altogether pleasant about the picture of the family life of thousands of Jacobean households similar

to that of Robert Loder. It lies in the incongruity of daily Bible readings and family prayers in the homes of these smug, selfish, and mercenary materialists, who were ever ready to prate about their unworthiness when profits rolled in, but who wondered why they had merited "loving chastisement" when things went wrong. A comment, wedged between a calculation for increasing the profits on pulse and a reminder that he should lay out his money on beans and peas "when they be chepe," might have been written by thousands of Loders, and merits quotation:

"It pleased the Lorde, for a loving chastisement vnto me (I doubt not) to permit and suffer some rogues and theves, to stele out of ye crop aforsayd two bushells of barlye (as I think) they breaking ye barne.

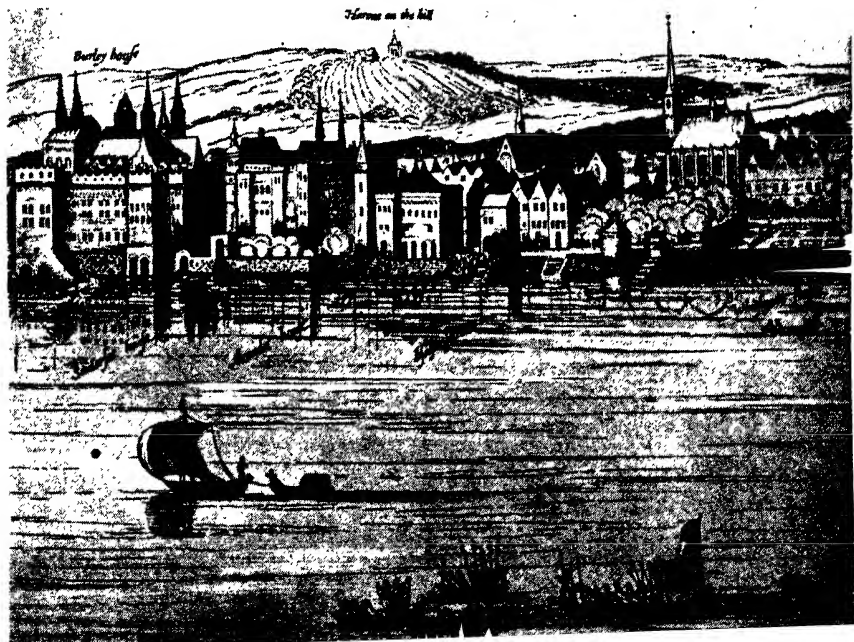
"Also the same night, being the xxxth of March, the Lorde my God permitted also the like persons to steal ij of my shep at

Awfeld; Surely the Lorde my Saviour sayth, in Revell; whom I love I rebuke and chasten; but for what cavse this was I know not; it may iustly be for my to, to (too, too) much following of this worldly pleasures in businesses; but let that be considered of me; but I will alwayes say, the Lorde by prayed; and as St. Paule sayth, in all things give thanks." Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610/20, were edited for the Royal Historical Society by G. E. Fussell, and published in Volume LIII of the Camden Third Series in 1936.

Puritanism was not confined to rural England. For perhaps two generations it swept through the country, or at least through a very great part of it, and it has left its mark on British life even to this day. Earlier references have been made to the absolute nature of the medieval Englishman's belief in God. It is difficult for peoples of recent times to grasp the curious quality of this belief. Rather than belief

LONDON FROM THE RIVER

The engraver of this seventeenth-century picture of London was one Cornelis Visscher. The engraving shows the view from the Surrey side of the north bank from Somerset House to Whitefriars Stairs. Arundel House is next to Somerset House, at the left-centre of the print. The many "stairs" were a feature of later medieval London. Their names are in many cases still a part of London's water-front and are a reminder that the river was used to a very large extent until recent times for the transport of people and goods.



it was accepted knowledge, like knowing that one is cold, or that one has parents, or that it is Friday, or that one is alive. It asked no questions because it had not yet reached the stage of such philosophical, scientific, or psychological inquiry which asks such questions as: "What is the meaning of temperature? of life? or of God?" The medieval conception of God had another quality. God was everywhere, always, and there was nothing alarming or even depressing in the thought. He had no special objection to fun, even to dancing in the churchyard, and He certainly would never have approved of the cutting down of the people's maypoles. But the sixteenth century had seen Bibles placed in the hands of men to whom books were as yet sufficiently rare to inspire belief in their truth, and to whom the Bible was the literal and direct revelation of God to man. This circumstance had two important results.

A MUSKETEER

The musket, first introduced in the middle of the sixteenth century, was heavier and more powerful than the arquebus which it superseded. Below is seen an early seventeenth-century musketeer. The charge was set off by the lighted match seen in his left hand. He also holds the forked rest from which the weapon was fired.



With the Bible in the home tongue available for study, the vast and complex organism of the Church, which had reserved the right to interpret the Bible in its own way, seemed no longer a necessary intermediary between God and man. The promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them," seemed sufficient justification for the repudiation of bishops and abbots, ceremony and dogma alike. Moreover the Church had already shrunk from its former catholicism to a national Church; virtually it continued to shrink to the Church of the home. Monarchy had replaced the papacy; the father of the family, armed with the Bible, was to replace monarchy, and to assume the responsibility of teaching the meaning and discipline of Christianity as he conceived it.

Puritan Family Life

The second change lay in the manner of the interpretation. It was not the New Testament only which was the source of the new religious inspiration, but the whole Bible, with no critical conception that the jealous, angry, and destructive God of the Old Testament was a very different God from the God of Love of Whom Christ spoke. What was in the Bible was necessarily true, whether it was written in the Old or the New Testament. If it had been the will of God that the Amalekites should be utterly destroyed, then obviously there was no justification for any weak-kneed mercy in dealing with any who broke His commandments. If it said, "Thou shalt make to thyself no graven image," then any such images must be destroyed. The Mosaic commandment that the Sabbath Day should be kept holy seemed sufficient justification for the sending of soldiers into the home to see that the ancient law was being duly obeyed. And in the home patriarchal authority could claim that the child was commanded to honour his father and his mother, and that the relatively subordinate position of the woman in the home, with the convenient restriction of her behaviour to domestic administration and to motherhood, found ample Old Testament precedent.

If the Puritan doctrine was hard on the family, the Puritan father was, generally,

equally hard on himself, and because, like Bunyan's pilgrim, he was burdened with worldly cares, because of his new patriarchal and religious dignity, he had begun to take himself very seriously. Puritan England was not so much a sombre England as an England which had lost its traditional sense of humour. Nor was there much of freedom in the doctrine. It was hostile to imposed authority not because it implied any freedom of conscience, which it did not, but because it implied a transference of authority to the Bible, and to the Bible as interpreted strictly and literally by the Puritan father. Thus Puritanism was an inspiration to fearlessness, to a sober, dignified, outspoken frankness, to a courage which derived its force from its conviction that God was more powerful than princes.

Such were the hard, unbending, unforgiving, self-conscious, dignified, sober-minded, courageous men who sat in James I's parliaments, who saw nothing humorous in the claim of the tactless, padded, worried little Scot to be God's representative, and who insisted with increasing vehemence on the legality of the parliamentary privileges of freedom of speech and from arbitrary arrest, on the supremacy of parliamentary legislation, the control over taxation by the Commons, and the repudiation of any such arrogance as the "Divine Right of Kings." With a very direct hint to Charles I, who succeeded in 1625, that monarchy in fact depended on revenues which the merchants represented in parliament controlled, they granted him the usual "tunnage and poundage," the duties on wine and wool, not for life, but for one year only. It was on the hard rock of British Puritanism that absolute monarchy destroyed itself.

Rule of Charles I

In 1629 Charles decided to make the experiment of reigning without the encumbrance of a parliament of fanatical, obstinate men who seemed bent on opposing his will. He succeeded for eleven years, raising money by various ingenious and imaginative methods, and practising a rigid national and domestic economy. Guided by Weston, a wily and efficient Lord Treasurer, Charles brought before the Star Chamber men whose feudal ancestors had "encroached on the royal forests" by



A PIKEMAN

Pikemen formed a large part of armies from the late Middle Ages until the introduction of the bayonet in the middle of the seventeenth century rendered them obsolete. The pikes they carried were about twenty feet long and were excellent defence against cavalry. Above is seen a typical pikeman of the early seventeenth century.

bringing waste land under cultivation. Such men were fined anything from £5,000 to £10,000. Smaller additions were made to the royal treasury by fining, under an obsolete statute of Edward I's reign, men who held land worth £40 a year, and who had not claimed knighthood. "Ship money," long levied on maritime towns toward the upkeep of the Royal Navy, was extended, logically enough perhaps, but arbitrarily, to the inland counties. Monopolies, declared illegal in James I's reign, were continued, though they were granted to companies rather than to individual traders.

But even these and similar devices were unequal to the demands of a war, and, as we have previously observed, Archbishop

Laud's attempt to impose the Anglican ritual on to the Scottish Church brought the Lowland Presbyterians to arms. Charles was compelled to summon the English parliament.

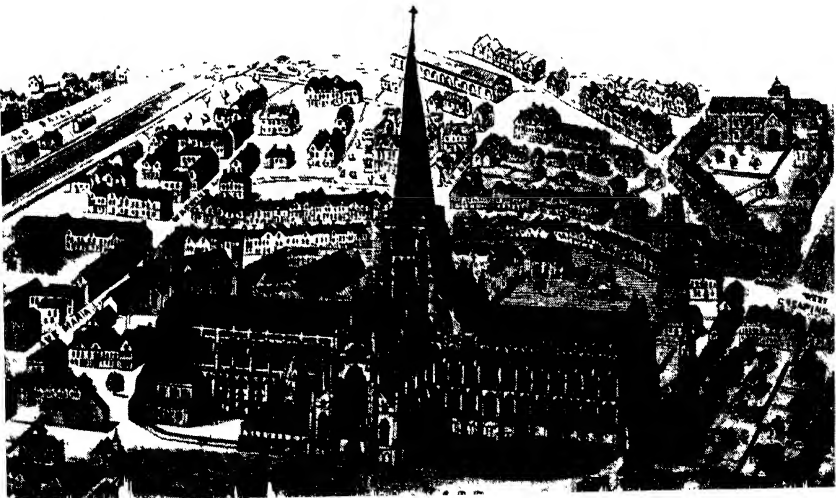
During the eleven years' tyranny there was no general feeling of oppression in England. The country was prosperous. Trade was flourishing, and the merchants were enjoying freedom both from the control of the medieval guild and from the central control of the Elizabethan system. The yeoman farmers were making increasing profits, and beginning to derive some advantages from the experiments in arable farming. In any age most people are tolerant of those things which do not directly affect their lives, and are opposed to violent disturbance. Tradition, fear, and superstition combined to check opposition to the King, and even the imprisonment of Sir John Eliot, who had refused to apologize to Charles for his vigorous opposition to the King's will, failed to rouse any general outcry. But resentment grew, particularly amongst the educated minority, against the increasing violence of the Star Chamber and other

prerogative courts, which were undermining British common law. Three Puritans, Prynne, who was a lawyer, Burton (a divine), and Bastwick, who was a physician, were placed in the pillory, their ears were cut off, they were fined £5,000, and were sentenced to solitary imprisonment for life, for the views they had expressed in published pamphlets. Their public mutilation did cause a riot, the first serious expression of outraged liberty.

The parliament which Charles had been compelled to summon in 1640 became known as "The Short Parliament," for it was dissolved after three weeks, without having made any grant to the King. Charles, unable to raise an army against the Scots, other than a mere rabble assembled by the Press Gang, had to promise an indemnity of £850 a day to the Scots, and to permit their occupation of Northumberland and Durham until payment should have been made. Charles, desperate, had recalled from Ireland the efficient and tyrannical Earl of Strafford, who had a whole-hearted belief in the efficacy of superior force, but even he could not save Charles

OLD ST. PAUL'S

The Cathedral Close of old St. Paul's shows many names retained in the modern City of London, including Ave Maria Lane, Paternoster Row and Cheaping, which later became Cheapside. The medieval Gothic cathedral was one of the finest in Christendom, its magnificent lines and its tall spire being well shown in this old print. The first church on the site was a Saxon one destroyed by fire in 1087. The subsequent Norman foundation was largely rebuilt during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was one of the many fine buildings destroyed in the City of London during the Great Fire of 1666.



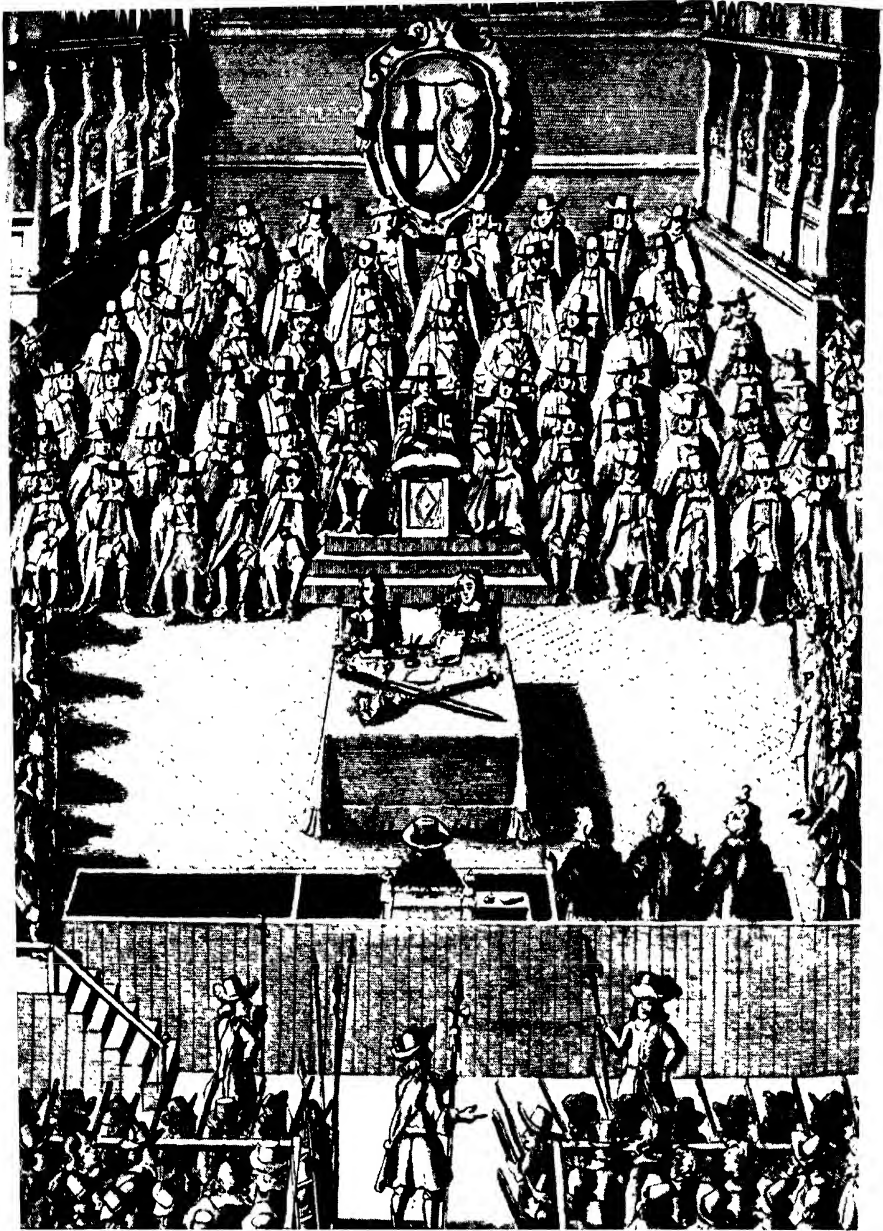
DISCOVERY OF THE M GEROVS AND DAMNABLE TE T HAVE BEEN SPREAD WITHIN THIS

causes: By many Erronious, Hereticall and Mechnick spirits. By which the very foundation of Christianiety, which
and practise is endavoured to be overturned.



TRADESMEN PREACHERS

The broadside, published in 1647 and now in the British Museum, a part of which is reproduced above, shows twelve seventeenth-century tradesmen who were preachers in and about the City of London. The broadside illustrates a facet of life about the middle of the seventeenth century—the great lay interest in the propagation of religion. The former invincible authority of the clergy as interpreters declined. Instead there was a passionate conviction of the reality of a personal God in most households. People of influence were zealous in preaching, and fathers often assumed the right of religious interpretation in their family.



TRIAL OF CHARLES I

This old print is described as "a true copy of the journal of the High Court of Justice for the tryal of King Charles I." It shows all the chief actors in the trial. The King is shown at A; Bradshaw, President of the Court, at B; Oliver Cromwell at K. The group round the President of the Court are the special commissioners. Charles had surrendered to the Scots at Newark, and was delivered by them to the Parliamentary forces. Charles was ultimately condemned to death and beheaded in Whitehall on 30 January, 1649.

from the humiliating necessity of having to resummon Parliament. The struggle between monarchy and merchants, between Crown and Parliament, between prerogative courts and the common law, though it was to endure for another generation, was already won. Monarchy could not function without money, and sufficient money could be obtained only through the willing grants of those who had it.

To the Long Parliament came most of the men who had sat in the Short Parliament, but they returned angry, determined, and conscious of their power. They refused any grant until all grievances had been redressed. Strafford, who had advised the seizure of the leaders of the Commons, and Archbishop Laud were executed. Charles was forced to accept laws which made Parliament's consent necessary to its own dissolution; which abolished his prerogative courts, the main instrument of royal despotism which the Tudors had forged; laws which, should Parliament not be summoned for the space of three years, enabled the sheriffs to carry out the elections automatically, and which declared arbitrary taxes illegal. The money was then granted, the Scots were paid, and the Parliament went into recess for the autumn.

The Civil War

Unanimous on these matters, the Commons proved, on their return, hopelessly divided on the extent of the changes they proposed to make in the Church. Charles, encouraged by the breach and by the reactionary royalist wave which followed the abolition of the obvious abuses, opposed the Commons' demand to control the army which a rising in Ireland necessitated, and attempted a *coup d'état*. Accompanied by a number of armed supporters, he entered the House and demanded the arrest of five of the more important of his opponents. Forewarned, they had sought and found refuge in London, now almost wholly parliamentarian, and soon returned in triumph to a House which had forgotten its disagreement and was united in anger at this violent abuse of its privileges. The Queen had taken the crown jewels to France to raise money for an army, and in 1642 the Civil War began when Charles raised his standard at Nottingham.

It is not easy to generalize about the English Civil War, or, rather, it is too easy to do so, for most of the usual generalizations need serious qualification. Was it a struggle for freedom against oppression? There was nothing particularly oppressive in the rule of the Stuarts, and neither freedom nor toleration was a characteristic of Puritanism. The immediate result of the victory of the rebellious forces was the establishment of a military despotism far more autocratic than that which it had replaced. Charles I, condemned to death by a court which had far less claim to legality or pretensions to justice than had the Star Chamber Court, could claim with some reason, as he faced the headsman on 30 January, 1649, to be a martyr in the cause of freedom. Nor was the act an expression of the will of the people, and many of those present at the execution groaned when the bleeding head was raised.

Triumph of Parliament

And yet, notwithstanding the immediate issue, it was a war for freedom, for the sovereignty of the people, for the rule of the common law instead of that of the prerogative courts, and for the recognition of Parliament's privilege of freedom of speech and of the supremacy of constitutional law. Though Charles, almost with his last words, had claimed with sincerity to desire, for the people, their liberty and freedom "as much as anybody whatsoever," he had added: "but I must tell you, their liberty and freedom consists in having government . . . it is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things." But Charles's idea that sovereignty necessarily resided in an individual who, by right of birth, was in some way a different being from a subject was already demonstrably untrue, and it is this that is important. When the revolution had completed itself, by 1688, sovereignty resided, in Britain, not in the monarchy but in Parliament, which represented at least a section of the people, the merchants and the yeomen farmers in the main, so that the revolution established a plutocracy in Britain; that is, it transferred sovereignty from the monarchy to the moneyed class. But the struggle

had been waged, quite sincerely, in the name of parliamentary right, in the name of freedom, and in that of law, and the plutocratic regime continued to function under these banners until the time came for a more democratic extension of political control.

Important as this is to the British man in the street of to-day, it was of much less significance to the mass of seventeenth-century Englishmen. Probably not more than two per cent of the population ever took any active part in the war. Many were indifferent, to the ignorant majority the issue must have been unintelligible, and many who approved of the expressed principles of the rebels disapproved of violence against the king. Sir Edmund Verney, who was killed defending the Royal Standard at the first battle of Edgehill, wrote: "I have eaten the king's bread and served him for nearly thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to desert him; and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure I shall do—to defend those things which are against my conscience to defend. For . . . I have no reverence for Bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists."

Though in the main it is true that the merchants, the educated middle class, the ports, the more progressive and urbanized south-east, and London were parliamentary, while the older territorial aristocracy, the conservative north and west, the Church, and the peasantry, the more typically medieval sections of the country, were royalist, there was no clean-cut division, and neighbours and even families were divided in their loyalties. Even the name "Cavaliers," the horse-riders, the "chivalry," has a medieval flavour, nor yet has gone the attraction of its romantic loyalties, its adventurous recklessness, its gallantry and its nobility.

The Commonwealth

But though these qualities won early victories, they broke before the disciplined armies and dogged, patient persistence of the Puritan and parliamentary "Roundheads." The death struggle of medievalism ended with the execution of Charles I, and, for a time at least, there was little joy in the land ruled by "saints and soldiers."

To picture the lives of the British people during the ten years which followed the death of Charles I and to appreciate the extent of the relief and joy with which Charles II was welcomed in 1660, it is necessary to recall that the Government, for a decade, was at once a military despotism, and a Puritan despotism. It is almost inevitable that a successful revolution should lead to the establishment of military dictatorship; that the force which has overthrown the previous authority should continue to wield the power it has seized and that it should regard as its especial duty the establishment of a new form of government. From 1649 to 1659 Britain was ruled by soldiers, under the leadership of the greatest of them, Oliver Cromwell. It was an efficient rule, hard, disciplined, imperialistic, aggressive, patriotic, unimaginative—the rule one would expect of soldiers. It was also Puritan; sober, severe, and for both reasons unpopular.

Rise of Cromwell

Cromwell, until ten years before the outbreak of the Civil War, had worked a small farm in Huntingdon, after the fashion of Robert Loder. In 1631 he sold his fields and bought leases of land near St. Ives. Already farmers were beginning to crystallize into two distinct types: those who, again like Loder, regarded land simply as a source of wealth; and those who were becoming squires, the hereditary figure-heads of rural society, who regarded their land as a patrimony, the possession of which implied social status and social responsibilities. The leaders of the rebellion had been drawn mainly from the borderline class of farmers, who combined a practical zeal for profits with a sense of communal responsibility. Cromwell was of this type. He had been a magistrate, and had sat in three of Charles's parliaments. Already forty-three years of age at the outbreak of the war, he organized a small body of cavalry, mainly from the farmers' sons of his district, rose rapidly to the command of fifteen thousand men of East Anglia, inspired them with his own religious and patriotic fervour, proved at Marston Moor the tremendous power which a disciplined force can yield, and was left at the end of the war virtual dictator of Britain.



STANDARDS AND BANNERS OF THE CIVIL WARS

The above pictures, which are taken from a seventeenth-century manuscript, are described as "the devises, mottoes, etc. used by the Parliamentary officers for standards, banners, etc. in the late Civil Wars." They are particularly interesting as demonstrating the combination of religious zeal and political ends which inspired the forces of Parliament in their struggle with Charles I. Especially illuminating is the motto *Ut Rex Noster sit Noster Rex* (So that our King may be our King). In other words, so that the King may really represent the will of his subjects. The standard with the motto *Lex Suprema Salus Patriæ* is that of a Captain Harvie, captain of the City train bands and of a troop of horse. The train band was the term used for a division of the citizen soldiers, raised in England in the early seventeenth century. By the end of the reign of Charles I the bands became known as the militia. The train bands of London formed an important part of the Parliamentary armies.

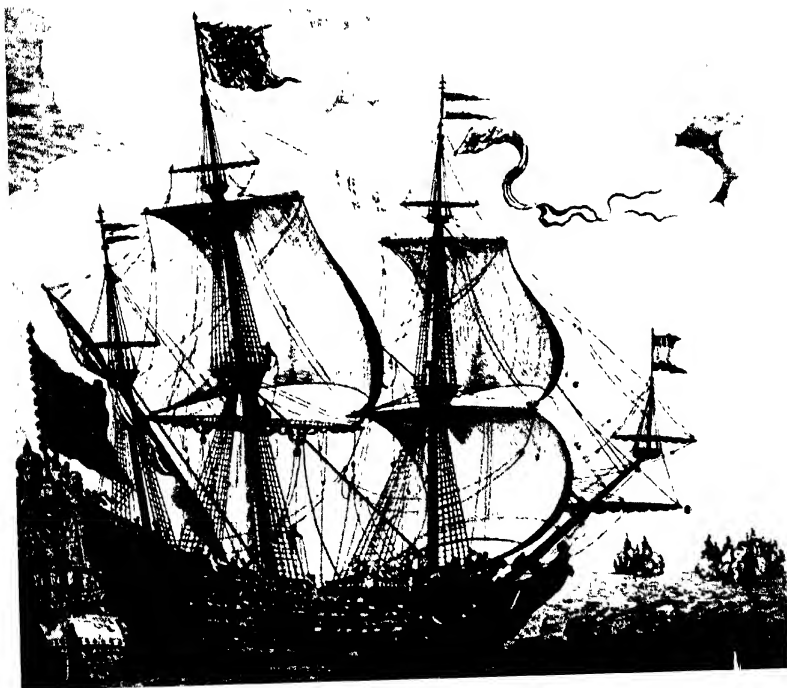
All that was left of Parliament was the fragmentary "Rump," which had survived the inclusion of the less extreme rebels and the more extreme Presbyterians. The monarchy had gone, and the House of Lords, or what little of it had so long survived, had gone when the Commons were "purged." It was not long before the "Rump" went, too. Cromwell, contemptuous of the attempts of Parliament's surviving members to perpetuate their own political authority, entered the house, ordered the soldiers, as he pointed to the mace, to "take away that bauble," and forcibly ejected the members. In the words of a French writer, the House of Commons was "to let." A number of experiments in the formulation of some system of government by consent necessarily failed, for the

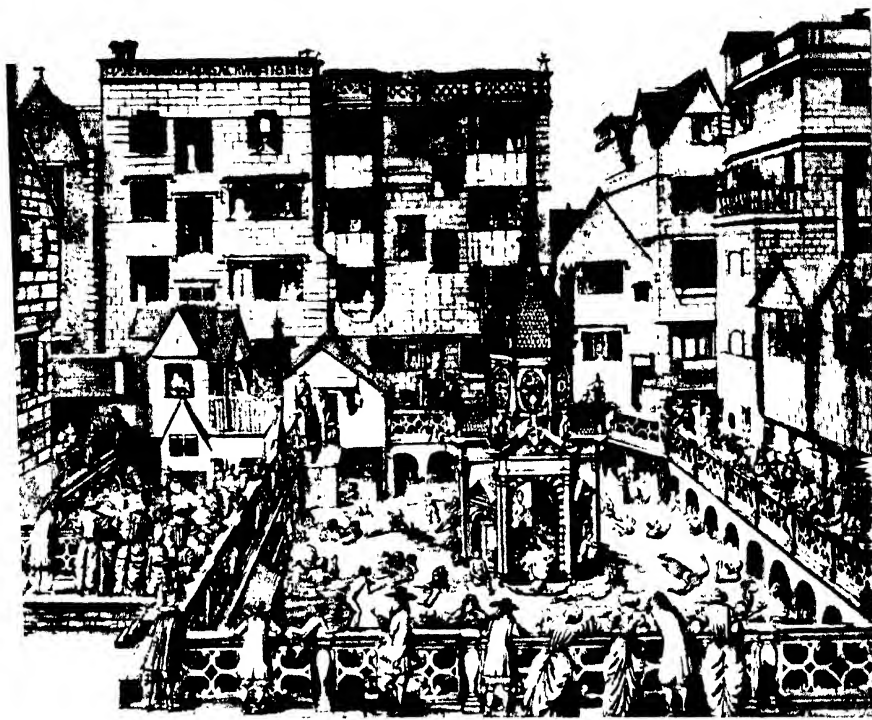
Government was in fact a military despotism which itself had no popular approval. The failure of these attempts led to the undisguised elaboration of a system of military rule, with the country divided into districts under the authority of Oliver Cromwell, the "Protector." An army of some fifty thousand, the most efficiently armed and drilled fighting force that Europe had known, provided the executive power.

Ireland was conquered with a ruthlessness that has made "the curse of Crummell" a permanent addition to the Irish vocabulary. Scotland was at least temporarily subdued. A fleet, doubled in size, under the efficient command of Admiral John Blake, wrested from the Dutch the carrying trade which had become almost their own monopoly. The memory of God's

THE DUTCH SHIP AMELIA

This engraving of a Dutch ship in the National Maritime Museum at the Queen's House in Greenwich is by Jan Visscher, brother of Cornelis Visscher, engraver of the view of London reproduced on page 29. Since the death of Queen Elizabeth the Dutch Navy had become extremely powerful and the Dutch mercantile marine had gained a virtual monopoly of the carrying trade of western Europe. During the late seventeenth century England waged a series of wars in an attempt to oppose and break this great naval power. She was only partially successful, Dutch prosperity and power were more seriously undermined as a result of a further series of wars with France at this period





THE BATHS OF BATH IN 1675

Bath is often thought of as a comparatively modern spa whose heyday was in the eighteenth century, especially in the time of Beau Nash (1674-1762). In fact, the tradition of the baths began during the Roman occupation. Parts of the original Roman establishment survive to this day. In the seventeenth century, when this drawing was made, the baths had an exceedingly poor reputation, and the lodgings in the town were said to be very bad. The picture does, however, demonstrate that even then they were a centre of social life.

deliverance of His Chosen People from the Papists of Spain tempted the Cromwellian imperialists to a new war against Spain, which led to the capture of Dunkirk, the acquisition of Jamaica, and the re-establishment of British prestige as a fighting nation, if it did nothing to lessen the abhorrence with which many European peoples then regarded the "nation of regicides."

This genuinely patriotic and successful national enterprise had little if any effect on the general unpopularity of the Government. The majority of the people were mainly conscious of what seemed an unwarrantable interference with their customary way of living. It was part of the

duties of the major-generals to see that the people lived sober and godly lives, and the attempt to carry out the duty inevitably evoked far more angry irritation than either godliness or goodliness. This was especially the case when soldiers were empowered to enter private houses, for the maintenance of strict sabbatarian regulations. Horse-racing, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting were forbidden, together with such harmless pleasures as play-acting and country-dancing. Many alehouses were closed, and, in general, the discipline of the Puritan home was being imposed on the people, whether they wanted it or not. But except for this unpopular and increasingly resented



THE GREAT FIRE

Soon after the Restoration two great disasters befell London. In 1665 the city was scourged by the Great Plague in which it is estimated about one-seventh of the total population died. This was followed by the Great Fire of 1666. The fire is said to have started in the house of a baker in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge, and then spread rapidly through the many narrow streets. Among other buildings, St. Paul's Cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal



OF LONDON

Exchange and about 13,200 houses were destroyed. A new St. Paul's, designed by Christopher Wren, was built to replace the old cathedral, and brick houses began to replace the burnt-out timber dwellings of the merchants. Many slums which had disfigured the capital since medieval times remained, however, for by no means was all of London destroyed. Above is seen an artist's impression of the scene in the city when the fire was at its height.

enforced sobriety, life for the general public changed but little, and, in most cases, not noticeably at all.

The more enlightened and informed of Cromwell's subjects, however, saw with increasing disapproval that the Government was doing all the things for which that of Charles I had been condemned. To meet the cost of an aggressive foreign policy, taxes were being raised without the authority of those taxed: men were imprisoned without trial; soldiers were billeted on private householders, and martial law was used in peace time. These were the four unlawful acts which parliament had especially mentioned in the Petition of Right which had been presented to Charles in 1628. Enormous fines, reminiscent of the extravagant extortions of the Star Chamber, were imposed on Cavalier squires, and many lands of the Church and the

Crown were sold to soldiers, merchants, or farmers of the republican party. Many of the Cavalier families, however, retained their estates, paying the fines by means of loans, by cutting and selling timber, and by other devices, waiting for the end of a regime which few believed could endure for long.

Cromwell died in 1658, and there was no one capable of controlling the Army or the Government, both of which were so much his own creation. His son and nominated successor, Richard Cromwell, who was not a soldier, had no authority over the Army, and, to save the country from the threatened rule of a clique of officers, General Monk left Scotland with his army of occupation, marched south demanding the election of a free parliament, found opinion overwhelmingly in favour of a restoration of the monarchy, and reached

PLAYERS OF PELL MELL

The game of Pell Mell pictured in the print below was one of the minor consequences of the Restoration. It is said that it was introduced by Charles II as one of the fruits of his long exile in France. Thomas Mount, writing in 1670, describes the game as follows: "Pall Maille, a game wherein a round bowl is with a mallet struck through a high arch of iron (standing at either end of an alley) which he that can do at fewest blows or at the number agreed on wins." The London street called Pall Mall derives its name from the fact that the game was played near its present site. A player is striking a bowl on the left of the picture.





BEAR-BAITING IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The latter part of the seventeenth century witnessed an amazing mixture of gentle manners and cruelty. Two sports more different in every way than Pell Mell and bear-baiting could not well be found side by side in any other period of history. Yet at the time of the Restoration both were pastimes of the wealthy and leisured. Bear-baiting, a public exhibition given in special arenas built in the form of theatres, was attended by all sections of the community. The bear was commonly chained to a stake and then attacked by a pack of dogs until exhausted. The picture shows the dogs worrying a bear that has broken its chain.

London determined to carry into effect the general desire. The Rump, and as many other members of the Long Parliament, which had never dissolved itself, were recalled, asked to arrange the summoning of a parliament by a general election, and then to dissolve the House. The new parliament met in April, 1660, and invited Charles, the exiled son of Charles I, to return to his kingdom.

With great pageantry, and amid thronged masses of jubilant, excited subjects, Charles entered London on 29 May, 1661. Amongst the thousands who had managed to gain window space was Samuel Pepys, whose diary throws so much human light on these days, and, fortified by wine and good cake, he "saw the show very well." In his description of it he wrote: "It is impossible to

relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes. . . . Embroidery and diamonds were common among them. The Knights of the Bath were a brave sight of itself; and their Esquires. Remarkable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops come next after the Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare before the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit, and cloak, looked most noble. . . . The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the



A MEETING OF THE QUAKERS •

This contemporary satirical print bespeaks the growing importance of the Quaker Movement, which was founded by George Fox. Properly called the Society of Friends, its members were first named Quakers by Mr. Justice Bennet, who is said to have been bidden by Fox "to quake before the Lord." From the date of its foundation in 1648 until the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689 the Society of Friends was the object of almost continuous persecution. In spite of its unpopularity it continued bravely to hold its meetings in the open. The most important characteristic of the Society at the time was its opposition to the clergy and its refusal to accept the sacrament as the medium of grace.



TRIAL OF WILLIAM PENN

William Penn, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, was a leading Quaker. In 1670 he was tried at the Old Bailey in London for preaching to an "unlawful, riotous and seditious" assembly. The jury, defying a ruling of the court, found him not guilty. Their action is generally considered to be the first time an English jury asserted the right to do this. The scene during the trial is shown here. Penn, wearing a hat in court as was the Quaker custom, is addressing the jury who are seated on the right. Later Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania in North America, and dedicated it as a safe asylum for religious refugees.

windows. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it." So with bells, and bon-fires, and with the flowing of much wine did the people express their relief that the "Rule of Saints and Soldiers" had ended.

That the Restoration restored anything has been denied, and certainly there was no unqualified restoration, even of the monarchy. Kings could no longer claim to reign by Divine Right, when it was quite obvious that they ruled by the will of a section of the people, and, in the case of Charles II, by invitation. Of this Charles

was fully conscious, and, determined "not to go on his travels again," was content to apply his very unusual intelligence to the extraction of the greatest possible degree of pleasure from his office, to out-witting his ministers, to the elaboration of a cultured and satisfying court life, and to such national direction as could be managed by tact or intrigue. On one occasion, when accused that his words were much wiser than his actions, he replied, with characteristic wit, that his words were his own, but that his actions were usually dictated by his ministers. His less intelligent brother and successor, the narrow-minded

and obstinate Roman Catholic, James, Duke of York, had not learned this lesson, and in 1688 his daughter, Mary, and son-in-law, William of Orange, were invited to reign in his stead. That this change in the person of the monarch could have been so simply effected, by the "Bloodless Revolution," was due simply to the fact that it was not a revolution at all, but merely an act expressive of something that had already taken place, namely, the transference of sovereign power from the monarch to an oligarchy.

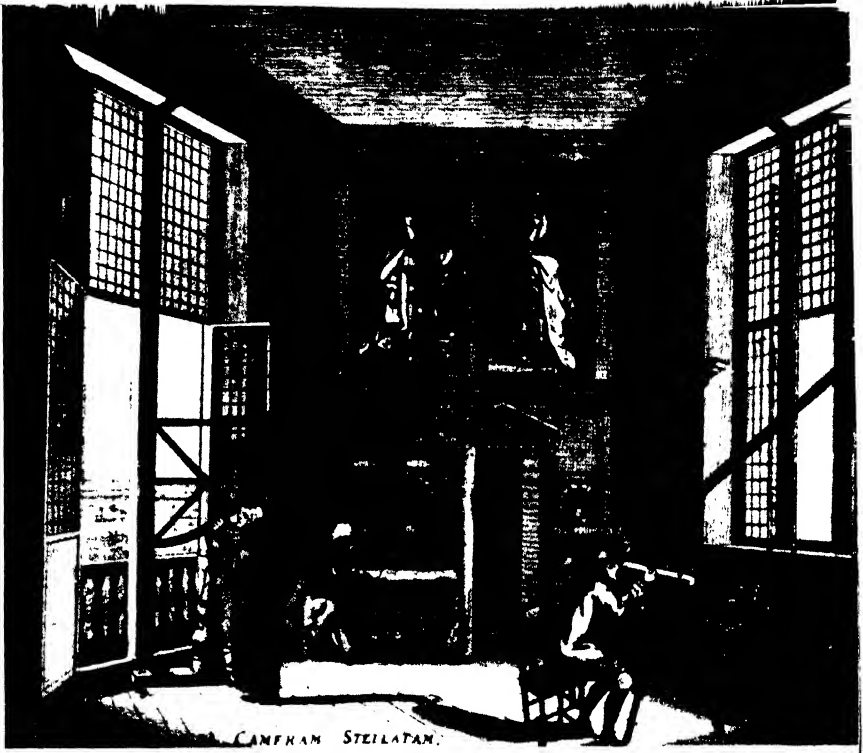
It is but an extension of the same truth to say that, in restoring parliamentary rule, the Restoration also established the

political supremacy of the wealthier classes who were alone represented in the restored House of Lords and in the House of Commons. The Restoration did, in fact, create a new aristocracy, and helped to extend the growing cleavage between wealthy and poor. One of the early acts of Charles's first parliament, the "Cavalier Parliament," was the Settlement Law of 1662, which empowered Justices of the Peace to remove from their parish any incomers who had settled in any "tenement under the yearly value of ten pounds." By this act about five million people, out of the population of five and a half million, could be driven from any parish except

GREAT FROST FAIR

This contemporary drawing shows the great Frost Fair which was held on the Thames at London in 1683-4 in the reign of Charles II. London Bridge, with its numerous arches and the rows of houses and shops above, is shown in the background, and a street of booths in the foreground. On the left of the picture a circle of spectators is watching the bull-baiting. On the right a similar circle is watching a game called chair-sliding in the ring. The original caption humorously remarks that boys climbed up a tree in the Temple Garden (on the left of the picture) to see the bull-baiting.





THE ROYAL OBSERVATORY

This engraving of the interior of the Royal Observatory was made in the time of Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, who was appointed in 1675. The Royal Observatory at Greenwich was built to the design of Sir Christopher Wren, and represented one of the main contributions to the advance of science made in the seventeenth century. The original building continued in use well into the twentieth century, though the greater part of the work of the Observatory has now been transferred to Herstmonceux in Sussex. Observers at the quadrant and telescope are seen here in an octagonal room with tall windows reaching almost from floor to ceiling. This facilitates observation of any part of the sky.

their own, even though in employment. Even more characteristic of privileged oligarchic legislation were the Game Laws, which forbade any but the minority of wealthier freeholders to kill game, even on their own estates. The poorer yeomen had found the game on their land a valuable addition to their tables.

There were still many peasants who enjoyed rights of common, who worked arable strips in open fields, and for whom the reopened alehouses, the restored rustic amusements, and the traditional routine of work, offered contentment. But the vast majority of rural workers were hired labourers, living in poor cottages, and

themselves always on the border-line of hardship. The generally benevolent despotism of the Tudors had restrained the narrow selfishness of the developing capitalist class, as the more humane of the medieval monarchs had restrained the baronage; but after the Restoration the squires and the merchants held the supreme authority, and for a century at least the lot of the worker became rapidly worse.

The degeneration of the worker was probably even greater in the urban and industrial districts than in the country. The machine age, with its depressing monotony of labour, had not yet come, but



MAY-DAY DANCE

The tradition of special festivities on May-day is one which dates back to pre-Roman Britain. It may have originated in pagan dances designed to propitiate the gods and invoke their aid in assuring a good harvest—a token of the first day of summer with all that that implied in every primitive calendar. In medieval times May-day celebrations were continued with the blessing of the Church. The date of the picture above is 1698. By then the May-day revels had gone far towards becoming a conscious traditional observance.

women and children were already working intolerably long hours, under indescribable conditions, in the coal-mines which, in less than a century, had increased their output to about fourteen times that of the Tudor period. In the towns there were signs that labour was already beginning to organize itself, and in 1696 the Journeymen Feltmakers of London began a three-years' fight with the chartered company on a question of wages.

The increase in the size and population of the towns, and more especially the increase in the number of the urban poor, made the lack of urban sanitation, the lack of good water, the dirty, narrow streets, and the lack of drainage, an ever-increasing menace. Medical knowledge and skill were

negligible, and remained so for a century. Of children born only a small minority survived. Of Queen Anne's eleven children none survived her, and, in general, so many children died in infancy that the average length of life in many towns of the eighteenth century was sixteen years. In 1665 London itself was scourged by the Great Plague. There were a few cases of it toward the end of April. It spread rapidly through May, and increasing numbers of houses bore on their closed doors a red cross, and the writing, "Lord have mercy upon us!" June was one of the hottest months recallable, and in one week seven hundred died of the Plague. In carts, coaches, or wagons, those who could left for the country, and were very probably

responsible for the spreading of the Plague in East Anglia, and, to a less extent, elsewhere. The Plague of London was but the last serious outbreak of the scourge which, from 1348 to 1349, had destroyed about a third of the population, and which had continued periodically to ravage the country. At James I's accession about thirty thousand people had died of it, and during the Civil War Chester and other towns lost a quarter of their inhabitants through the scourge.

In London the Plague of 1665 was followed by the Great Fire of 1666, which destroyed, not the rapidly extending slum districts known as "Liberties" beyond the City walls, but the City itself, from the Tower to the Temple. A new St. Paul's, the design of Christopher Wren, replaced the old; brick houses began to replace the burnt-out timber dwellings of the merchants; but the slums remained.

One unqualified revival due to the Restoration was that of the arts, the revival of the interrupted Renaissance. The arts, those of music, poetry, painting, drama, sculpture, and the like, differ from spontaneous aesthetic expression as does literature from folk-lore. They are essentially the product of cultured leisure, and, therefore, in their finest and most developed forms, the product of a relatively leisured and cultured aristocracy. This often-forgotten truth, which is perhaps the best justification for the existence of a leisured aristocracy, applies to the Restoration period as it applied to the Age of the Greeks. The Age produced the delightful

and thoroughly English music of Purcell; the development of Herrick's poetic romanticism by Dryden and his school; the architectural genius of Wren; and the revival of the drama by a multitude of playwrights from Dryden downwards. Milton, himself a refugee from the Great Plague, wrote his greatest work during the early years of the Restoration period, though its classical severity and architectural beauty of formal structure represent rather the sublimation of Puritanism into the world of art.

And, finally, the Restoration restored the Anglican Church, its bishops, and its ritual, but again with a difference. Almost it may be said to have *created* the Church of England as we know it, a pleasantly compliant, fairly tolerant, and, above all, a fashionable Church. The era of the family pew, of the sleeping squire and his wakeful tenantry, of the friendly parson, had dawned. The more independent of the urban poor became "nonconformists." The reactionary persecution of the Puritan dissenters, fierce enough at first, was fairly soon reduced to the excluding of dissenters from privileges retained for Anglicans. Amongst the wealthier classes the violent opposition of Cavalier and Roundhead had already softened into a relatively reactionary Toryism and relatively progressive Whiggism, and the Whigs, with an eye on profits, advocated religious toleration of all save Papists, as less likely to interfere with trade. With the Restoration most of the characteristics of Britain as it is in modern times are rapidly becoming recognizable.

Test Yourself

1. Summarize the main developments in seventeenth-century farming as suggested by the account of Robert Loder's farm outlined in the text.
2. Explain the transference of interest from sheep rearing to tillage in the seventeenth century.
3. G. K. Chesterton, referring to the Puritans, wrote that "by the poor agricultural population, still by far the largest part of the population, they were simply derided and detested." Comment on this.
4. The historian, J. R. Green, saw in the Civil War the beginning of "a struggle between political tradition and political freedom, between the principle of religious conformity and the principle of religious freedom." Comment on this view.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.



STATE LOTTERY

The first of a long series of State lotteries was authorized by Act of Parliament in 1737 and was designed to raise funds for the building of a bridge over the River Thames. The lots were drawn at the Stationers' Hall in London. The picture above is from a contemporary print, now in the British Museum, depicting the drawing of lots for a lottery of 1739. The commissioners in charge of the lottery are seated at the centre table; the actual draw is being performed by boys from Christ's Hospital (the Blue Coat School) a practice which came to be customary on these occasions. In boxes on either side of the hall sit privileged spectators. Study of the dress of the figures on the floor shows that the long tunic which was a feature of fashionable male attire in the late seventeenth century had given place in the early eighteenth century to a fairly short coat. The three-cornered hat, too, had by this time become fashionable.

CHAPTER XV

THE RULE OF MONEY

THE historian, like the painter, has to search for a design and meaning through the vast confusion of incidental and haphazard trivialities which constitute his material. The problem of the eighteenth century is that it presents to the historian too many patterns, each of which can be but a fragment of the truth. A simpler plan, and one pleasant enough, is to amble through the century, lingering where fancy pleases; to wait at Bristol for the ships of the thrice-profited merchants or to join in the clamour for the South Sea shares; or, risking the rut-filled roads, to ride with Defoe or Young, and see the farms grow big out of the medieval fields, or the factories spring out of the Midland wilderness where Wesley was stoned.

One might watch with the gaping peasants the melancholy march of Bonnie Charlie and his Highlanders as they return from Derby, or the antics of the scurrying merchants on Black Friday; or sit in some black-beamed tavern, with tankard and "churchwarden," denouncing the Dissenters or listening, perhaps, to Dr. Johnson's denunciations of the slave trade, or joining in a discussion as to the relative merits of Gay and Handel, or a criticism of Garrick as Richard III. One might meet Clive, fresh from Arcot, or marvel with Horace Walpole at the news of a new victory served with every breakfast, or do a thousand things, all more pleasant than to wonder at the pale-faced misery of the deformed and wretched children of the colliery and cotton districts, wonder at the squalor, filth, and suffering in the fever-ridden prisons, or at the sight of a cart-load of men, laden with chains, on their way to convict stations overseas, perhaps for having preferred the risk of poaching to starvation. Across the pages of eighteenth-century history flit a hundred such scenes—but they make a far less coherent pattern of those years than does Fielding's *Tom Jones* or Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*.

One very consistent impression, at least of urban life, has been left in the numerous engravings and paintings of Hogarth, and, grim and revolting as it is, and making full allowance for that possible exaggeration and tendency to caricature which one expects of a satirist, there can be no doubt as to the general sincerity and truth of Hogarth's work. As Fielding said of his work, so Hogarth could have said of his, that though it may be objected to him that he should have "introduced vices, and of a very black kind, into his work, they are never set forth as the objects of ridicule, but detestation; that everything is copied from the book of nature." It is not that the century was lacking in men cast in the finer moulds of virtue and idealism, of dignity and nobility, there were many, but the general characteristic of the age was a gross and selfish materialism.

English urban life in the eighteenth century is revealed as that of an age brutally cruel, of coarse and unrestrained sensualism and gluttony, an age contemptuous of honour which gold, the only criterion of value, could buy, an age which had ceased even the pretence of hiding its dirt and ignorance under the tawdry frumpiness it still donned. Indifference to suffering, pleasure, even in another's pain, seemed to characterize every class, young and old—and there was enough suffering to satisfy the most sadistic. The "gentle and royale" game of cockfighting, in which even Pope is said to have delighted, provoked an eager enthusiasm in "peers, pickpockets, butchers, jockeys, ratcatchers—gentlemen gamblers of every denomination," according to a print published in 1759. In the eighth plate of Hogarth's series, "The Rake's Progress," two "gentlewomen," with fan and furbelow, are wandering, for pleasurable curiosity's sake, amid the grim horrors of the madhouse, where the pampered, dissolute and depraved rake is adding his insane laughter to the babel of

the mentally tortured. Nor is the literature of the century wanting in its corroboration of this general inhumanity, and for those who doubt the greater truth which fiction often reveals, the statutes of the realm and the reports of parliamentary commissions can be convincing enough for the most complaisant sceptic.

Against this background of men grown used to cruelty it is easier to understand the general tolerance of the inhuman conditions of life which are made familiar through the class-books of history: the horrors of the prisons and transport vessels, the press gangs, the exploitation of child labour, the innumerable beggars, brutalized, crippled, blind, often by their own violence, men unpitied and without pity, driven to steal, and, since hanging was the penalty for theft, as ready to murder as to steal, doomed to provide the spectacle of a public hanging and, as a last

and perhaps an only service, to provide material for the medical student who would not always trouble first to remove the severed rope.

Although one tends to think of cruelty first, a more obvious characteristic of eighteenth-century England is its coarse, sensual gratification of every conceivable appetite, from the savage bludgeoning of violent and unrestrained anger to the orgies of drunkenness, from the coarsest forms of sexual indulgence to a vulgar gluttony. In 1733 Hogarth produced the "Midnight Modern Conversation." One of the company has sunk to the floor, while another is providing literal proof of his incapacity "to hold his liquor like a gentleman"; but the punchbowl has been refilled, for it is as yet but four o'clock in the morning. A "divine," with corkscrew dangling from a finger, has been said to be "Parson Ford," Dr. Johnson's uncle. A lawyer, the barrister

A COCKPIT IN BIRDCAGE WALK

At one time a favourite sport of all classes in the community, cockfighting gradually declined in the favour of people of fashion; during the eighteenth century it was largely driven underground, though not prohibited by law until 1849. Henry VIII built a cockpit at Whitehall. In the eighteenth century the pits at Westminster, Drury Lane and Birdcage Walk were the best known, the latter being depicted in this drawing by Hogarth. The pits were round, the stage itself being approximately twenty feet in diameter.





CONVERSATION AT MIDNIGHT

Hogarth's satire entitled "A Midnight Modern Conversation" depicts many of the foibles of fashion current in the 1730s as well as pointing the obvious moral which Hogarth intended. We may notice in particular the clay pipes, the wigs and the foppishness of clothing, all of them more characteristic of the first half of the eighteenth century than the debauchery which was no doubt practised by a few but was no more a portent of that period than of any other age.

Kettleby perhaps, is enduring with befuddled patience the tearful woes of a maudlin miserable, while a "Justice," "in fair round belly, with good capon lin'd," has discarded his wig the better to enjoy his churchwarden and massive goblet.

In 1751 Hogarth produced his "Gin Lane," a bitter condemnation of the unbelievable degradation consequent on the enslavement of so many to "that infernal broth" which is "vulgarly called 'strip-me-naked,' and has almost universally that effect." In the foreground lies one, "pale, wan, emaciated, little more than a skeleton, who has bartered away his waistcoat, shirt, and stockings, and drunk until he is in a state of complete insensibility." A woman, eaten away with disease, like Defoe's Blear-Eyed Susan, grinning insanely, drops a child to certain death in the courtyard below, while nearby a famished dog struggles for the bone which a starving wretch is gnawing. A crutch and

a cripple's stool are weapons in a drunken brawl, a barber hangs from a gibbet in his own garret. Commenting on this engraving, John Ireland wrote: "The large pewter measure hung over a cellar, on which is engraved 'Gin Royal,' was once a common sign; the inscription on this cave of despair, 'Drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, clean straw for nothing,' is a worthy observation; it exhibits the state of our metropolis at that period." Between 1714 and 1735 the quantity of gin distilled is said to have risen from two to five million gallons. Fielding, who for four years had been a Bow Street magistrate, and for two years Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, issued in the same year a pamphlet to emphasize the disorders attending the gin traffic.

From Sheridan's delicate and witty dramatic use of woman's infidelities to Swift's heavy-handed satirization of their coquetry, from Fielding's Lady Bellaston



PALL MALL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

St. James's Palace is on the right and the whole length of Pall Mall is seen leading towards St. Martin-in-the-Fields. St. James's Palace, an early essay in brick architecture, was built in 1533 during the reign of Henry VIII, and it has been used as a Royal residence at various times ever since it was built. Although the State domicile of the Royal Family has been changed to Buckingham Palace, the Court is still known as the Court of St. James's.

to Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, from the intrusion of the theme in so many of Hogarth's prints to his gruesome sextet, "The Harlot's Progress," urban life in the century seems to have had a contemptuous toleration of general sexual indulgence. It is part and parcel of the fundamental attitude of an age which held that gold was omnipotent.

When the first of England's Premiers claimed that every man had his price, was there anything that money could not buy? The whole political system, with its patronage, intrigues, boroughmongering, reliance on purchase or intimidation for votes, and its connivance at the profit-making potentialities of office, was corrupt from top to bottom. Pope's satire of the political "scribblers" is worth quoting:

"This labour past, by Bridwell all descend
As morning prayer and flagellation end
To where Fleet-ditch with disemboing
streams
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to
Thames,
The king of dykes! than whom no sluice of
mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood.

Here strip my children! here at once leap in
Here prove who best can dash through thick
and thin.

And who the most in love of dirt excel,
Or dark dexterity of groping well.
Who flings most filth and wide pollutes
around

The stream, be his the Weekly Journals
bound;

A pig of lead to him who dives the best;
A peck of coals a-piece shall glad the rest."

Justice was no better than politics. The squire's port had a'rophied the conscience of the Church. Superstition and Ignorance stalked in the wake of Disease through the unclean streets, with little to fear from the quacks, apothecaries, and surgeon-barbers of the time. Recipes for concoctions, powders, and pills for the curing of the ague, asthma, gout, and other prevalent afflictions are more reminiscent of witchcraft than suggestive of any developing medical knowledge, with their frequent ingredients of calcined snail-shells, woodlice steeped in wine, swallows' hearts, and powdered hens'-dung.

The commercially minded materialist, whose guiding stars are Instinct and

Common-sense, whose aim is Success, and whose criterion of success is Gold, is not peculiar to the eighteenth century, nor are they who scoff at idealism as so much hypocrisy, and at education as a mere academic frivolity. But the eighteenth century illustrates the kind of life which results from the general application of these cynical and materialistic doctrines. For the mass of the people there was no organized education at all; for many what there was was negligible; for the few for whom such education as then existed was available most of it was little more than pickled tags and classical excerpts, uncorrelated to any end. The gaining of a university degree was mainly a matter of residence, fees, and meaningless ritual. Over everything spread the deadening influence of *laissez-faire*, expressing first a tolerance of any evil so long as men would endure it, and, when later the principle of "non-interference" had been given the dignity of doctrinal significance, encouraging that freedom of competition which gave to the unscrupulous the satisfaction of gratified selfishness.

If one may end this fragment in the minor key with a more cheerful major cadence, it is to observe that the great work of Wesley was already beginning to spread its humanizing influence before the death of Hogarth in 1764, in which year Wesley could write: "I rode to Dudley, formerly a den of lions, but now as quiet as Bristol."

The Revolution of 1688

The description of social conditions alone cannot constitute a history of a people, any more than a description of the outward and visible effects of disease could constitute a textbook on pathology, for both groups of symptoms are but the visible expression of conditions brought about by more remotely hidden factors. Only by the understanding of such conditions are the resultant diseases, physical or national, made intelligible, and their cure, rather than their temporary alleviation, made possible. Probably few of the holiday folk or fishermen of Brixham, who have noticed on the fish-quay the statue with its Dutch inscription, have considered that the event it commemorates,

more perhaps than any other, hastened the development of Britain into a thoroughly commercial and progressively industrial nation, conditioned by plutocratic rule.

The unopposed landing of the Dutch prince, William of Orange, on 5 November, 1688; the flight of James II, the bigoted, narrow-minded brother of Charles II; and the arrangement that William and his wife Mary Stuart should reign jointly, ended the long struggle for British sovereignty, with authority firmly established in the wealthy classes. After the "Bloodless" or "Glorious" Revolution of 1688 any further pretence that the British sovereign ruled by Divine Right was out of the question, for William had no hereditary claim to the throne, which he occupied simply because he refused to be a subject of his wife, "much as he loved her." Moreover, the crown had been offered under conditions which restricted royal authority, and these conditions, outlined in the Declaration of Rights which later became the Bill of Rights, had been accepted by William.

Government Finance

The most important of these restrictions imposed on the monarchy was that the control of national finance was transferred from king to parliament. A fixed income known as the Civil List was granted annually to the monarch, an income too small to cover the national expenditure. Moreover, the sovereign had to present to parliament each year an estimate of the following year's expenses of government. Thus annual parliaments were necessary, and the present system of annual budgets was originated. But much more was involved. We have already observed that for a long time kings had been obliged to borrow money for national purposes, and such loans had to be repaid, with interest, out of taxes, subsidies, and other royal revenues. Obviously if such normal sources of revenue were unable to meet expenditure without loans, they could much less meet expenditure and repay loans. Accordingly, in 1672, Charles II, by the "Stop of the Exchequer," had announced that he would pay only the interest on the money he owed. As such loans had been made by goldsmiths and bankers out of their clients' deposits, and made only for short fixed



BARTHOLOMEW

One of the largest of the English annual markets, the Fair of Bartholomew was held at Smithfield, London, on St. Bartholomew's Day in almost every year from the twelfth century until the middle of the nineteenth, when it was abolished because of the rioting and dissipation associated with it. Bartholomew Fair, the play by Ben Jonson, underlines the rowdiness of the fair as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Even so for many centuries it was an important market, and during the heyday of the late medieval woollen boom a great cloth fair. The illustration is from a fan mount of about 1735. Among the popular amusements provided were dramas, puppet-shows, tight-rope dancing, wrestling, shooting and wild-beast shows. Before a large booth on the left of the picture a trumpeter is seen attempting to attract customers to the rope-dancing. Above his head is a picture of a rope-dancer. At the next booth on the right the droll of Judith and Holofernes is



FAIR

performed. A picture of Judith slaying Holophernes is shown. The players in the piece are standing on the platform before the booth. A Harlequin and Scaramouche provided the slapstick comedy. Another trumpeter is shown on the extreme right of the platform. On a sign hanging in the front of the booth, on the left-hand page, beneath the harlequin is a notice which in the original can be made out to read. "Lee and Harper is here," and this signifies that Lee and Harper, two well-known comedians of the time, are acting there. Next on the right is "a giant wheel" with two holidaymakers sitting in each of the compartments. On the next booth is displayed a picture of a man in a wig with the announcement: "Faux's Dexterity of Hand." A conjuring show is presumably held here. Another trumpeter is blowing away before the booth. On the right of the trumpeter is a picture advertising the performance of a posture-master, who today would be described as a contortionist.



SW

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EDUCATION

This illustration of a poem by Shenstone, who in 1742 published a corrected version of "The Schoolmistress," a piece written in the Spenserian manner, focuses attention on the growth of organized education during this period. The original of "The Schoolmistress" was a teacher in the school which Shenstone attended as a boy. Though the picture indicates rather haphazard instruction in unsuitable premises, it underlines the fact that education was at that time becoming available to ordinary middle-class people.

periods, some system of permanent loans to the Government was essential, especially in times of emergency. So long as the Government finances were controlled by the king, permanent or even long-term loans were unlikely to attract any willing subscribers; but permanent loans to the nation, when its finances were controlled by a parliament which represented essentially the "moneyed interest," were a much more attractive proposition. Under such conditions a "national debt" represented a secured investment, whereas a "royal debt" had no such security.

The National Debt

In 1694 the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Montague, on the advice of a Scot, William Paterson, borrowed £1,200,000 from a number of wealthy merchants, promising, instead of repayment of the loan, that certain taxes should be set aside for the annual repayment of the interest. The money was "invested" in the Government in just the same way as money may be invested in a company. Investors, to regain their money, have to "sell their shares" to a willing purchaser at the best price they can obtain. The money remains with the company and the interest is paid to the new creditor. So began the National Debt.

To compensate the merchants who had made the original loan for the permanent loss of their invested capital the Government granted them a charter which enabled them to found a bank with far greater powers and privileges than any private bank had had or could have. The new bank, the Bank of England, supported by the Government, which was its first and greatest client, with its directors and subscribers including some of the greatest merchants, inevitably commanded the confidence of the whole commercial community.

The immediate effect of the establishment of the Bank of England was to increase the political influence of the Whigs and of the moneyed class they mainly represented, because the Bank of England was a Whig institution. There were, however, wealthy men amongst the Tories, and as the Whigs were not to be permitted to establish an oligarchy without

considerable Tory opposition, a word about these two developing parties is desirable.

In the late seventeenth century the Tories, the Cavaliers of the Civil War period of the preceding generation, still essentially represented the "landed interest," the squires of the countryside, with a conservative clinging to tradition, to monarchy and the Church; whereas the Whigs, the descendants of the Whigamore Roundheads, represented in the main the "moneyed interest," the merchants and the towns, with a liberal feeling towards "freedoms," particularly to freedom of parliament from monarchic control, freedom of their own particular kind of worship from episcopalian control, and freedom of their commercial enterprises from any external interference or foreign competition. This social distinction, however, was increasingly blurred by the tendency of successful merchants to buy land and to "have a stake in the country," and by the tendency of country gentry to buy town-houses, to send their sons to the universities, to encourage marriages between their children and those of wealthy townsfolk, and by their general desire to share some of the power of omnipotent wealth. The peerage, moreover, had been increasingly recruited from the ranks of the Whigs, who by the end of the century had a majority in the House of Lords. But essentially the distinction remained, and in the eyes of many people the Glorious Revolution, the completion of the Civil War, had resulted in the enthronement of the increasingly prosperous merchant class.

War of Spanish Succession

If the Cavaliers had defended the monarchy in vain, their Tory descendants were to dispute with the Whigs the possession of the political power they had wrested from the Crown, and on the issue of this struggle the future economic and imperial development of Britain, and the kind of philosophy which was to direct British life generally, very largely depended. The undignified conflict formed the most important domestic characteristic of the reign of Anne, the last of the Stuart sovereigns. She reigned from 1702 to 1714, and until 1713 Britain was taking part in the War of the Spanish Succession against

France under Louis XIV. The British genius of the war was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, whose wife had dominated the Queen since they had been children together. Marlborough had hoped to be able to rely on Tories and Whigs alike for the prosecution of the war, but this soon proved impossible. Only the Whigs, urged by commercial jealousy of France, were enthusiastic, and the Government by 1708 was wholly Whig, with the Tories driven as a disunited opposition to pamphlet warfare and to intrigue.

Rule of the Tories

It was not difficult to alarm the Queen by persuading her that unchecked Whig rule implied a further threat to monarchy, and Harley, the most skilful of the Tory leaders, succeeded in installing his cousin, Mrs. Masham, as Lady of the Bedchamber, with the special object of superseding the Duchess of Marlborough as the Queen's favourite. The Tories drew further support from the widely held view that the Whigs were a danger to the Church, and when, in 1710, the Whigs impeached a clerical author, Dr. Sacheverell, for having published sermons which expressed the Tory doctrines of divine right, the popular support which Sacheverell received persuaded the Tories that the moment was opportune to strike.

The Queen was more than willing to co-operate, and she was prompted to dismiss the chief Whig leaders, including Godolphin, the ablest of them. Harley was made Earl of Oxford and became virtually Prime Minister. Marlborough, after pursuing the war for another year in the face of every possible difficulty at home, was dismissed, and peace negotiations were begun. Twelve new peers were created to make a Tory majority in the House of Lords, and for four years the triumphant Tories carried out a vigorous vendetta against the Whigs they had temporarily ousted.

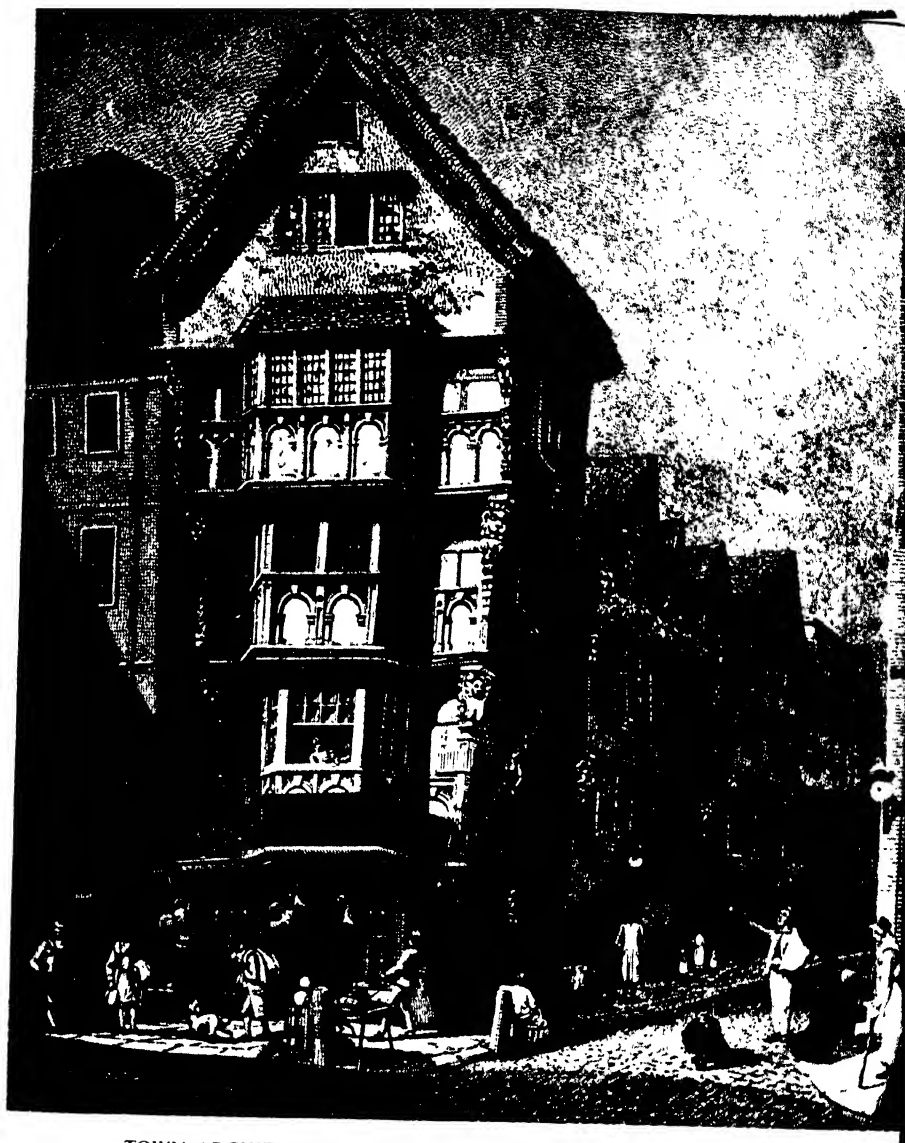
The main interests of these years lies in the extent to which it is possible to detect any constructive policy behind the actions of the Tories. Both Oxford and his energetic colleague St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, represented the younger and more enlightened section of the Tory

party, and both disapproved of a commercial policy which implied international rivalry and war. Bolingbroke's unsuccessful attempt to secure a commercial treaty with France, which included a proposal to end the preference on Portuguese wines which had been granted by the Methuen Treaty of 1703, indicated a free-trade policy far too revolutionary for the majority of his party and had to be abandoned. There was much greater support for the scheme which aimed to supply the Tories with a national financial interest to counterbalance that of the Whigs in the Bank of England. In 1711 a South Sea Company, with a monopoly of trade with South America, and to take over nearly £10,000,000 of the National Debt, was formed. Commercial concessions which were to increase the anticipated profits of this enterprise were demanded from Spain and were embodied in the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the war. Of this scheme and its implications more will be said later, but its relevant interest lies in the fact that the Tories no longer represented exclusively the "landed interest" any more than the Whigs represented exclusively the commercial.

Position of the Dissenters

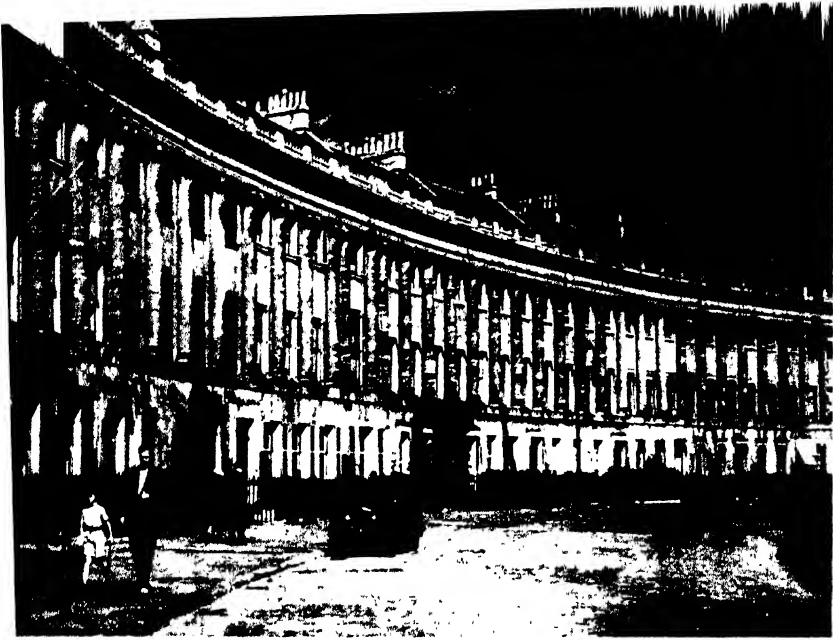
Yet the Tories in general disliked the "moneyed men" and the commercial cynicism which tended to scoff at ethical principles. An Act was passed in 1710 to restrict membership of the House of Commons to landed proprietors, and a number of Whig leaders, including Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Marlborough, were charged with "notorious corruption." War was waged against the Dissenters by the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711, which excluded Dissenters from public office, and by the Schism Act, which excluded them from the universities, from public schools, and from teaching, without a bishop's licence, thereby depriving all young Dissenters of any education other than that of the Church.

The end came when the Tory leaders began negotiations to bring to the throne on Anne's death, for her children predeceased her, the Roman Catholic son of James II, Prince James Edward Stuart. James Edward refused to renounce his religion or to promise any security for the



TOWN ARCHITECTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*London and all the big towns grew apace during the eighteenth century, which saw the full flowering of the styles of architecture known as Georgian, various adaptations for domestic purpose of classical ideas tempered by native traditions deriving from Tudor times. Like the streets of modern towns, those of the eighteenth century presented a varied appearance. This print, drawn in 1789, shows a row of houses representing several periods which were standing in that year on the west corner of Chancery Lane, Fleet Street. The house in the foreground*dated from the reign of Edward VI, when the projecting upper storeys were fashionable—a contrast with the plain-fronted house next door, rebuilt in the Georgian style. All the old houses in this row were demolished by order of the City Corporation in 1799. The lane is first mentioned as being called "Chauncery Lane" in the reign of Henry VI.*



ROYAL CRESCENT, BATH

The eighteenth century was the era of Bath's greatest prosperity and the occasion of the first of Britain's major experiments in town planning, carried out at Bath by the architects Wood, Jather and son. Many of the fine squares and crescents of modern Bath date from the time of the Woods, including Queen's Square, the Royal Crescent and the North and South Parades. The Royal Crescent is generally conceded to be the most successful. Social life in Bath towards the middle of the eighteenth century was superintended and moulded by Richard Nash (Beau Nash), 1674-1762, the official master of ceremonies.

Anglican Church, but Bolingbroke, a religious sceptic, pursued his scheme, won the support of the weak and dying Queen, who dismissed the less willing Oxford, collected arms, and prepared to quell all resistance. That there would have been a new civil war seems certain. It was prevented by the sudden death of Anne on 1 August, 1714. The Whigs had already acted. The lords-lieutenant of the counties were ordered to disarm all Papists and Jacobites; the fleet was ordered out, troops were called from Flanders, and George, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king and summoned to Britain by special messenger. He landed on 18 September, gave the chief offices to Whigs, and ordered the election of a new House of Commons. Bolingbroke, impeached by the new parliament, fled to France, to rouse the Old Pretender to active invasion, but the failure of the "Fifteen" completed the

ruin of Tory hopes, and left the Whigs in undisputed control of the British Government for half a century.

This establishment of a Whig oligarchy in Britain, as the final issue of a century's struggle, is important because it enabled the Whigs to apply to Britain's national, international, and imperial politics those principles which they had derived from private and company trading. An individual trade is pursued with the sole object of its yielding a monetary profit, and the trade is judged good or bad, successful or unsuccessful, on this criterion only. Moreover, a trader regards himself as successful and as wealthy in proportion to the monetary profit he makes. The application of this principle to a nation's trading seemed to imply that a nation would become wealthy if it could accumulate, as a result of its international commerce, a profit in bullion. In practice, this principle,

known as the Mercantilist Theory, implied that the nation must produce to a maximum for exportation, buy as little as possible from abroad, and so accumulate gold. The fallacy lies in the failure to realize that gold is not wealth, but only potential wealth. It is the mistake of the miser, and helps to account for some of the misery of eighteenth-century England.

The establishment of the rule of the moneyed class and of mercantilism had a further implication. Private trading had led merchants to believe that what one man gained another lost. This is true only if gain is measured in terms of money, and if the total money involved is a fixed quantity. In an exchange of goods, if, as usually happens, each participant obtains something wanted in return for something not wanted or wanted less, each party in the exchange has gained wealth. The greedy and selfish policy of mercantilism, applied to international commercial relations, therefore implied and still implies international economic rivalry and recurrent warfare. Seventeenth-century France

had begun to rival Britain in the export of manufactured goods. Under Colbert she had adopted a thorough-going mercantilism, and Britain, in 1678, had prohibited trade with France. The eighteenth century had hardly opened when the long series of wars against France, each more widespread and destructive than the previous one, had begun. Moreover, the commercial policy which fostered such wars had provided, through the National Debt, a means of financing them.

Further reference will be made to the effect of this policy on Ireland and the overseas colonies; but passing reference may be made here to the British parliament's attempts to stamp out every Irish and colonial trade which threatened to compete with the home trades, and to the attempts to restrict important colonial exports to British ports.

Disastrous as were the results, in Ireland and in North America, of applying to colonies the belief that they existed for no other purpose than for that of enriching the mother country, the worst evils of the

RIOT AT COVENT GARDEN

Covent Garden Theatre, today the Royal Opera House, was built in 1732, and was one of the most spectacular triumphs of the eighteenth-century entertainment world, as well as a masterpiece of the more florid style of architecture current at that time. Twice since then the opera house has been rebuilt after disastrous fires in 1808 and 1856. This print, from the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, depicts a riot in 1763 which is described in the original description of the print as "in consequence of the manager's refusal to admit half price in the opera of Artaxerxes." The rioters are seen climbing on to the stage.



rule of a commercially-minded plutocracy were to be found in England. A contempt for any form of idealism, the belief that "every man has his price," the view that poverty was the hall-mark of the thriftless and the wilfully idle, the adoption of a philosophy based on a selfish and greedy individualism, a cynical tolerance of suffering or even indifference to it, were some of the by-products of the system which made Britain the wealthiest nation in the world.

Cabinet Government

On the credit side the establishment of the Whig Oligarchy implied the end of absolute monarchy in Britain, and led to the elaboration of that system of parliamentary procedure which has become a model for all systems of responsible self-government throughout the world. George I's inability to speak the English language led to his abandoning the practice of presiding over the meetings of his "cabinet," the functions of which, therefore, ceased to be merely advisory. Under the chairmanship of a "Prime Minister" the Cabinet rapidly developed into the nucleus of the Government, politically homogeneous, and responsible to parliament only. Further, the traditional Roundhead advocacy of freedoms and of the importance of the Commons had survived, and during the period of the oligarchy, freedom of speech, of the Press and of conscience, and the independence of justice were secured. It was to be expected that the control of the House of Commons should have been "managed" by the practise of a complete and cynical corruption. The two members from each county, elected by holders of land valued at forty shillings a year or more, were, as they represented the landed interest, the most independent members. Usually the nominees of influential landowners were elected, and many of these were now Whigs. More numerous were the representatives of the boroughs, returned by a variety of local methods, and increasingly controlled in the interests of wealthy Whigs by forms of bribery, purchase, or intimidation equally varied.

Britain had hardly recovered from the shock of the first Jacobite rebellion when she plunged into the orgy of speculation

which demonstrated the growing belief in the miraculous power of capital and credit to create wealth without work. Imagination was stirred by the hope of fantastic profits to be derived from the South Atlantic trade, the triangle of trade which added three profits to the initial outlay on every voyage. A cargo of cheap British goods, sold at West African ports, would be exchanged there for a more valuable cargo of Negro slaves, to be sold in turn to planters in tropical America or the West Indies, where a third and still more valuable cargo of rum, sugar, molasses, and tobacco would be shipped for sale at home.

Concessions wrung from Spain at the Congress of Utrecht increased the opportunities of the South Sea Company which the Tories had founded in 1711, and which the Whigs reorganized. The Government's acceptance of the Company's offer to take over the bulk of the National Debt added to the Company's prestige, and such was the eagerness to buy the £100 shares that in a few months they were changing hands at £1,000 each. Vast as were the possibilities of profits, they were not likely to justify such extravagant hopes; rumour, fear, panic, hysteria followed in quick succession as prices tumbled. In 1720 the "Bubble" burst and thousands were ruined. A multitude of other companies, many with fantastic objects, had attracted eager subscribers, who were ruined with the rest.

Policy of Walpole

That the Government survived the crash was due to the skill of Sir Robert Walpole, and for the next twenty years he dominated British rule, the managing director of the Whig Oligarchy. Walpole was one of the class of progressive country squires who believed wholeheartedly in the doctrines of the Whigs as outlined in the previous pages. His attitude to life expressed exactly the current philosophy, and helped to stamp its character on the age he dominated. He held that it was but "common-sense" to pursue material comfort, to assume that the pursuit of culture, or the arts, or of "ideals," was a barren and profitless folly and that "honour" was dependent on the price of dishonour. It was "common sense" to "let sleeping dogs



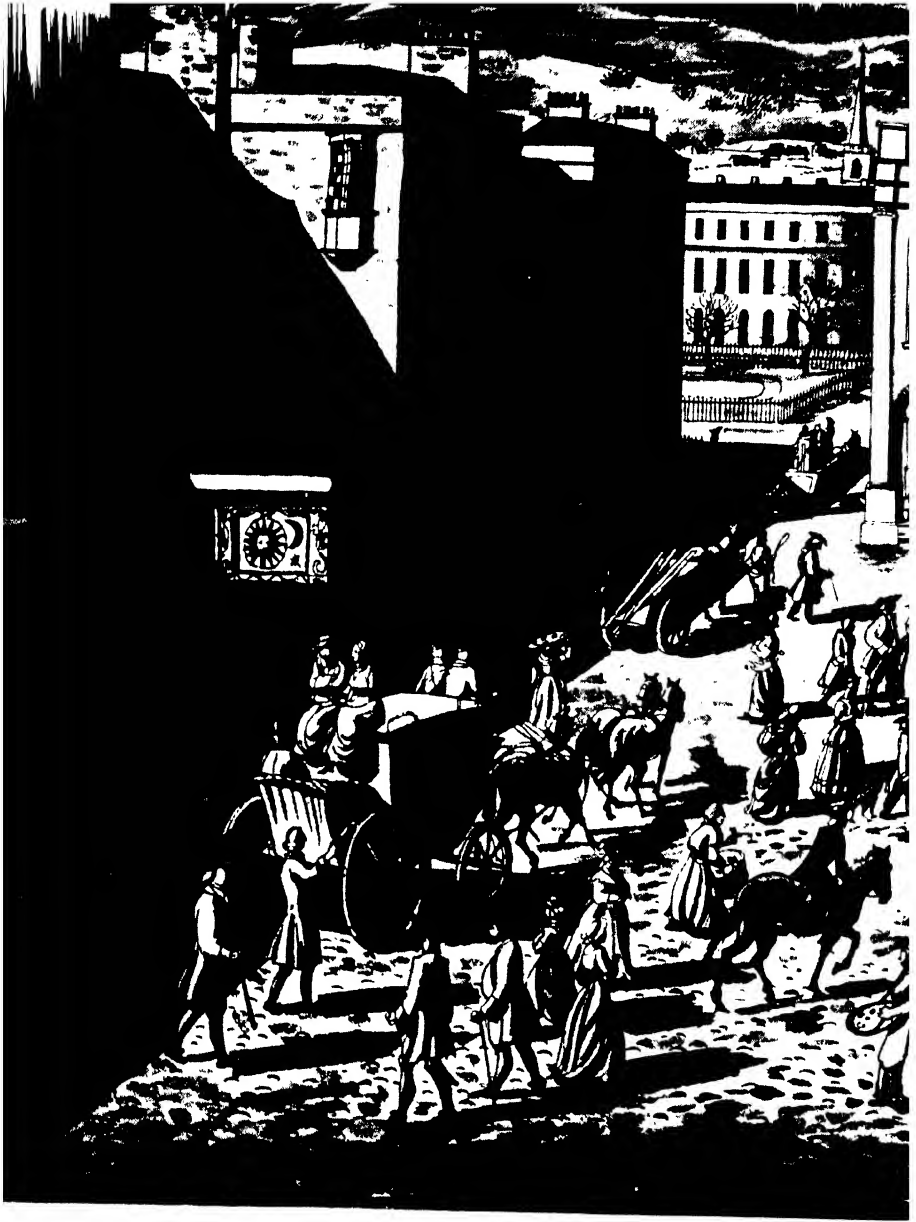
POLITICAL SATIRE BY HOGARTH

This drawing, entitled "The Times," belongs to a different era of Hogarth's life from "A Midnight Modern Conversation" (see page 53). Most of Hogarth's famous satires were published between 1730 and 1740. As time went on the artist's satire lost some of its edge, until by 1757 he was regarded as sufficiently "respectable" to be appointed Sergeant Painter to the King, a post to which he was re-appointed on the accession of George III in 1760. Two years later, although ill and depressed, he reverted to his former mood with the satire reproduced above, an act the immediate result of which was a violent attack upon him by his former friend, John Wilkes, editor of the periodical called the North Briton.

lie," to ignore, that is, social evils until they become so intolerable that distress merged into active discontent.

Under such a negative policy of *laissez-faire* there was a superficial calm, which merely ignored underlying developing trouble. In industry the sleeping dogs were stirring and beginning to growl. Before the end of the seventeenth century journeymen feltmakers had begun to form combinations for the increase of wages. In 1721 the Master Tailors of London and Westminster petitioned parliament against "the great abuses committed by their Journeymen," who "to the number of seven thousand and upwards" had entered into a conspiracy to raise their wages to twelve shillings and ninepence "instead of ten shillings and ninepence per week" and

to leave off work "at eight of a clock (instead of nine, their usual hour, time out of mind)." The petitioners claimed that the evil example of their idle and obstinate journeymen was responsible for the formation of similar combinations amongst Journeymen Curriers, Smiths, Farriers, Sailmakers, Coachmakers, and artificers of "divers other arts and misteries," and that the Journeymen Carpenters, Bricklayers, and Joiners have taken some steps for that purpose, and only wait to see the event of others. The Act of 1721 declared combinations amongst the journeymen tailors of London and Westminster unlawful, and fixed hours of work at thirteen, and maximum wages at two shillings a day from the end of March to the end of June, and then at one and eightpence.



TOWN LIFE IN THE

An artist's impression of a street scene in an eighteenth-century town is seen here. Many typical town houses of the Georgian style of architecture with their large and regularly spaced windows are shown. The Georgian house was in many ways more comfortable than those of earlier periods. It contained more and larger rooms, more windows, until the increased window-tax prompted people to brick up as many of them as could be spared,



EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and more elaborate interiors. In the centre of the picture is the town hall. On the left a stage coach is shown passing through the town. Outside passengers are sitting on the roof and in a basket-seat placed between the rear wheels. Stage coaches were first introduced in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the middle of the street two malefactors are standing in the pillory. In the foreground on the right a preacher is addressing the crowd.



IN VAUXHALL GARDENS

From the seventeenth century until they were closed in 1839 the Vauxhall Gardens, situated on the south bank of the Thames, near what is now Vauxhall Cross, were a favourite resort of fashion. Public gardens were first laid out in 1661, but as a place of general entertainment they were not fully developed until a hundred years later. This late eighteenth-century print shows the triumphal arches, and on the right the statue of the musician Handel.

Nearly twenty years earlier, in 1704, Defoe had expressed the general attitude toward poverty in his pamphlet, "Giving Alms no Charity." Poverty in England, he claimed, when not due to natural or accidental impotence to labour, was due to crime, of which "the visible and direct fountains were Luxury, Sloth, and Pride." "This is so apparent in every place," he wrote, "that I think it needs no explication; that English labouring people eat and drink, but especially the latter, three times as much in value as any sort of foreigners in the same dimensions in the world. . . . There is a general taint of slothfulness upon our poor, there is nothing more frequent, than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money,

and then go to be idle or perhaps drunk, till it is all gone, and perhaps he himself in debt; and ask him in his cups what he intends, he will tell you honestly, he will drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more."

If this indictment were true, the working-class was simply putting into practice the philosophy of life which the non-labouring classes were preaching. Incidentally, Defoe elsewhere expressed his approval of the practice whereby "Gentlemen of fortune and estates who, being born to large possessions and have no other avocations," spent their spare hours killing hares and birds. Nor could the charge of gluttony be restricted to the workers. Even if the surviving records of meals served for the

entertainment of guests in this period were recorded because they were unusual, they were prodigious.

Yet in all the towns there were paupers demanding relief. By the Workhouse Test Act of 1721 churchwardens and overseers of the poor were empowered to hire or to purchase property for the lodging and maintenance of the poor seeking relief, and to contract with any person or persons for the lodging, maintenance, and employment of such paupers. The contracting persons would have the benefit and profits of the work of the maintained poor. Any who refused to enter such poor-houses were to be denied any other form of relief. The evils inherent in such iniquitous a system are obvious. Not pity but the possibility of profit was the motive for the acceptance of such a responsibility. Impotence is a matter of degree, and paupers unable to do any work of any kind would be unwanted burdens. Reference is made in a latter Act, that of Gilbert, 1782, to the inhuman practice whereby "poor children, pregnant women, or poor persons afflicted with sickness, or some bodily infirmity, are enticed, taken, or conveyed by parish officers, or other persons, from one parish to another . . . to burden the other with such poor person."

There is brutal significance in the expression "let sleeping dogs lie."

Rural Life

The changes in rural England in the eighteenth century form the subject of a later chapter, but to confine this general picture of life in the early eighteenth century to that of the towns would restrict it to that of some one and a half millions of the five and a half million people living then in England and Wales. Probably a quarter of the land was still barren heath, wild forest, or undrained swamp. The wolf and wild boar had gone, though but recently, but wild cattle and red deer still roamed some of the forests, many of which, such as Epping and Hainault, were the impenetrable haunts of robbers and outlaws. Roads, the rough tracks which had served with little attention for centuries, infested with highwaymen, made travel an adventure, and in wet seasons made whole

districts inaccessible. For a century at least country life had, in its essentials, changed but little.

Yet there were already signs of the great changes soon to come, when the more influential country squires began to apply to their estates the economic principles and general philosophy they were formulating in London. The way was being prepared by the rapid disappearance of the smaller landowners, with incomes from £200 to £300 a year, whose estates were being absorbed into those of the wealthier landowners. These were building for themselves solid and more comfortable if uglier houses, with more and bigger rooms, more windows, until the increased window-tax prompted them to brick up as many of them as could be spared, and with more elaborate interiors. Hepplewhite and Sheraton furniture was replacing the heavier Jacobean type, and light, decorative panelling, paintwork, and wallpaper were replacing the more sombre dark oak of seventeenth-century walls. There were massive beds, which were taken to pieces in summer for the washing of the woodwork with vinegar and for the sun-baking of the feather mattresses and pillows. The reason is obvious from such a diary entry as that of Lady Cowper, who wrote: "I was bit in the night, I am afraid by a bug."

Town fashions were slowly penetrating into the country, and country gentlewomen were already wearing the great whalebone hoops which necessitated larger coaches, and the vast, lard-moulded coiffures which made seven-foot giantesses of them. Tory ladies wore the fashionable patches on the right cheek, Whig ladies on the left.

Food and Drink

If country gentry had "no other avocation" than that of enjoying their leisure, the womenfolk had plenty to do, even though they were increasingly assisted by "waiting women," often poor or unmarried relatives. Most of the food was prepared at home: bread was baked, meats were pickled for the winter, jams made, fruit bottled, butter and cheese made, cider, beer, and mead brewed. Ink, soap, and candles were homemade, as were most of the curious medicines of the time. Luxuries, such as coffee and, soon, tea, citrus

fruits, oysters, and the like, were brought back from the towns when the men-folk visited them.

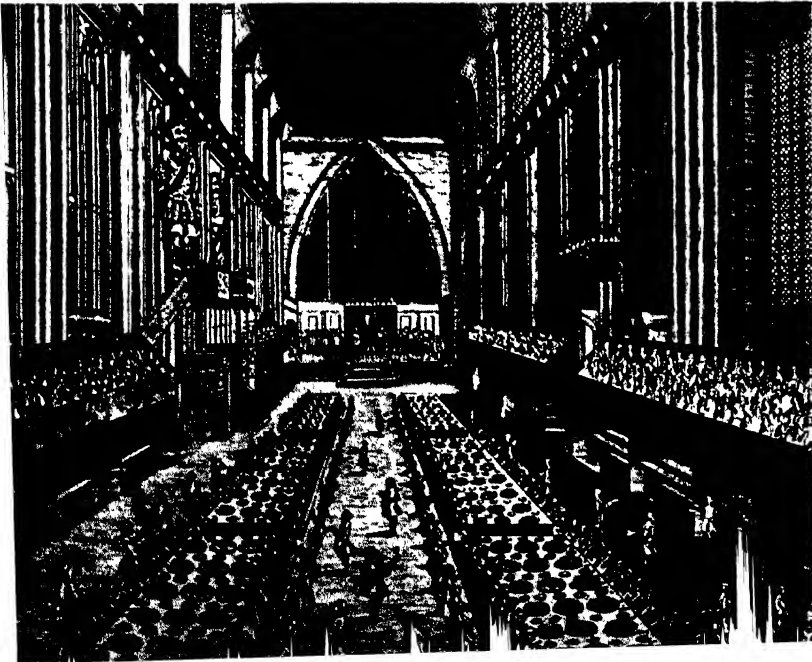
A daughter's marriage, and occasionally that of a son, was, as most things were, regarded as opportunity for profit, in this practical age which scoffed at sentiment. This explains the frequency of elopement and the anger of pursuing fathers at the loss of a dowry. Weddings, however, were an occasion for feasting, drinking, and curious, and often indelicate, ceremony. When, for example, a newly married couple had been put to bed, the guests, assembled, performed the ceremony of "throwing the stockings." While a sack posset was being prepared for the married couple, the male guests had to throw in turn, over the shoulder, from a position

at the foot of the bed, the bride's stockings, while the women guests threw similarly those of the bridegroom. Any who succeeded in hitting the owner of the stockings would, it was thought, soon marry. These, and less delicate customs, led to the origin of the honeymoon, as a means of escape.

The weaving of woollen cloth was still the most important general industry in England, and had already reached a considerable degree of specialization, both geographical and human. Defoe, in *The Complete English Tradesman*, gives evidence of both. The wool was first sold by the shearer, farmer, or fellmonger, to the stapler (or wool merchant), who was "a very considerable sort of tradesman," and by him to the manufacturer. The combers were the first to handle it, and they usually

BANQUET AT THE GUILDHALL

This is the Guildhall as it appeared on Lord Mayor's Day, 1761, as reproduced in The Gentleman's Magazine. The Lord Mayor's banquet since the reign of Edward II, when the Mayor of London was given the style and title of Lord Mayor, has been traditionally the most magnificent of the many festivals and banquets held in the City of London by the corporation and by the livery companies. It is one of the few which has retained much of its early character to the present day, and is held on 9 November, after the new Lord Mayor has been presented at the Law Courts to make his loyal declaration of office accompanied by the representatives of many walks of City life, in a procession which has gradually evolved into the form of the Lord Mayor's Show known at the present time





BOW STREET OFFICE

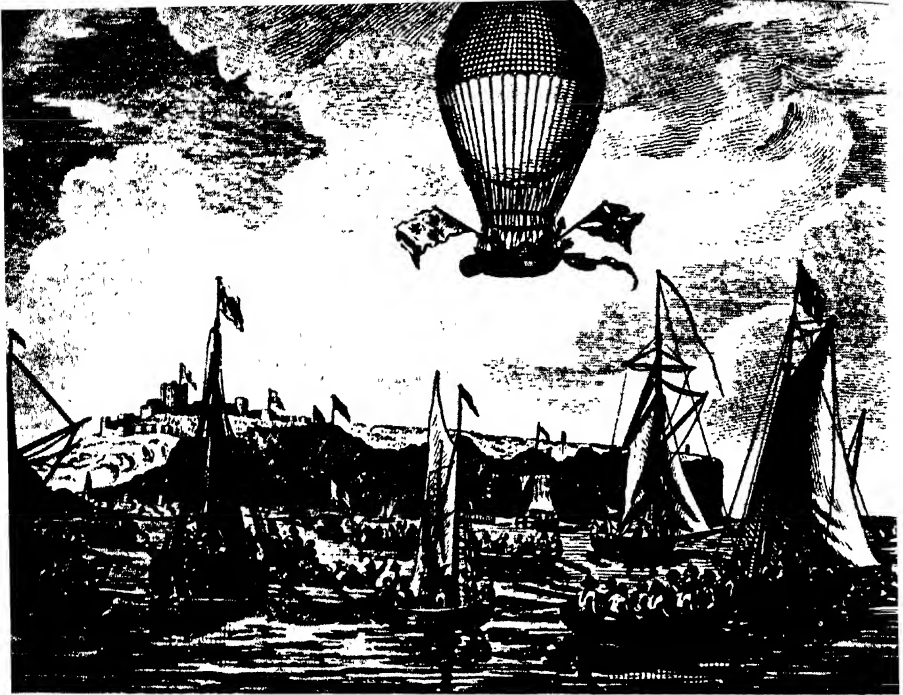
There was little respect in the eighteenth century for the judicial and administrative functions of the magistrates or justices of the peace, whose impartiality, especially in the large towns, was often called into question and whose integrity was certainly not always immune from bribery. First of the Bow Street magistrates was Colonel Sir Thomas de Veil, who was living and holding court here by 1735. Henry Fielding was the next to hold the office. He established the first corps of Bow Street constables and instituted major improvement in the administration of justice. The court in its early days is shown in this print of about 1800.

hired workers to "card" it, then passing it on to the spinners. "But before it comes this length," Defoe wrote, "it requires a prodigious number of people, horses, carts and wagons, to carry it from place to place; for the people of those countries (i.e., districts) where the wool is grown, or taken as above, are not the people who spin it into yarn. On the contrary, some whole countries and parts of counties are employed in spinning, who see nothing of any manufacturer among them, the mere spinning only excepted." For the looms of Spitalfields in London and of Norwich, spinning-wheels were kept busy in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Hertford, and even Westmorland, in addition to a supply of ready-spun yarn brought from Ireland, landed at Bristol, and "brought thence by land carriage to London, and then to Norwich also."

The county of Essex, "a large and exceedingly populous county," was occupied

extensively with the manufacture of special cloths, "bays and perpets," for which the wool was bought from London staplers. Even "the prodigious numbers of sheep fed upon those almost boundless downs and plains in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hampshire," and the employment "of all the women inhabitants" of these "large and most populous counties" and of Devon, in spinning, were insufficient to meet the demands of the weavers of the West of England counties, who were said "to take yearly thirty thousand packs of wool, and twenty-five thousand packs of yarn ready spun from Ireland." The counties of Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, and Lincoln were providing wool for the London markets, and for mixing with the coarser wool of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

A similar specialization, with the convenient development of middlemen, was



EARLY BALLOONING ADVENTURE

The first crossing by air of the English Channel was accomplished by a Frenchman named Blanchard and the American physician, Dr. Jeffries, on 7 January, 1785. This print shows the departure of the balloon from the cliff beside Dover Castle. The record of the crossing shows that disaster nearly overtook the aviators twice, the first time when they were less than half of the way across and, finding themselves descending, jettisoned all available gear from the car. When about three-quarters of the way across they began to descend again and only completed the crossing by casting away the anchor and other material.

characterizing the corn trade. In every port were increasing numbers of "corn-factors," who would sometimes buy a field of corn "not only before it was reaped, but before it was ripe." "This subtle business," wrote Defoe, "is very profitable; for, by this means, cunningly taking advantage of the farmers, by letting them have money beforehand, which they, poor men, often want, they buy cheap when there is a prospect of corn being dear; yet sometimes they are mistaken too, and are caught in their own snare; but indeed, that is but seldom; and were they famed for their honesty, as much as they generally are for their understanding in business, they might boast of having a very shining character."

It is clear that the whole of the national life was rapidly becoming organized on the

basis of a capitalistic economy, with freedom interpreted as unrestricted opportunity for individual effort in a competitive field directed towards the making of a monetary profit. That this is a healthy form of society many still maintain, as they would support the doctrine of "practical common sense" and its derision of ethical and aesthetic values, such as characterized the general direction of national policy in Walpole's day. That British wealth and prestige increased enormously under the regime is indisputable; but so is the truth that a blind eye and deaf ear were turned to selfish exploitation, to brutal treatment of women and children, and to a widespread wretchedness, once the policy was under way, which was fantastic in comparison with the national wealth. Nearly a century was to elapse, after the

scramble for shares in the South Sea Company, before the slave trade was abolished. Men, whether Negro slaves or British dockworkers, were but parts of the general machinery for the creation of national wealth. As the late Professor Ramsay Muir once wrote: "Any assertion that the cultivation of manhood rather than of wealth was the supreme interest of the community would have been regarded as mere 'enthusiasm' 'Common sense,' indeed, has never taken kindly to such a view, which it demands uncommon sense really to believe to the point of acting upon it."

It is seldom that the sky is wholly black or that darkness is absolute. The generation which produced Hogarth's violent satires of contemporary society produced also Handel's "Messiah." Charity schools, foundlings homes, such as those of Thomas Coram in London and Captain Bryan Blundells in Liverpool, and hospitals, of which Addenbroke's at Cambridge was the first outside London, were evidence that the flickering spark of human kindness was not altogether extinguished. General James Oglethorpe's horror at the disgusting state of the prisons, and at the hopelessness of the lives of debtors flung into them, prompted him to found in 1733 the last of the thirteen British colonies of North America, the colony of Georgia, where many might find new life and hope.

Most significant, however, was the vigorous challenge to the spiritual atrophy of the age, inspired by the Wesleys and Whitefield in England, and by Griffith Jones, who was primarily responsible for the great religious revival in Wales.

George Whitefield and John and Charles Wesley were students at Oxford University, Whitefield earning his education as a servitor at Pembroke College, when they began like St. Francis of old to revive an active Christianity by the methods which Christ has taught. To preach the doctrine of Love to the paupers, the sick, the criminals, and the generally wretched, was as a voice crying in the wilderness of eighteenth-century England. The Church, sunk into a lethargy of worldly indifference, would not lend its pulpits to these fanatical evangelists, and, after a brief visit to Georgia, the Wesleys joined Whitefield, who had already begun to preach in field, street, village square, at the pithead, or indeed wherever men and women could be gathered together. They were tireless, and on horse or foot travelled over some five thousand miles of England's crude road-tracks each year. Their fearless courage equalled their energy: often they were stoned. Dudley was "a den of lions", ignorance, brutality, vice, a dulled acceptance of conditions of wretchedness, were obstinate enemies. But gradually men were taught again not to think of themselves as the hopeless victims of a naturally voracious and competitive society, but as the sons of God, whom they learned again to call their Father. They were taught that there are other criteria in the judgment of human conduct than personal advantage or monetary gain, and, in time, to regain their self-respect, their courage, and their hope. The fresh, invigorating breeze of human kindness and unselfishness had begun to fan into greater life the flickering spark of the conscience of the nation.

Test Yourself

1. The eighteenth century is often described as "splendid" or "glorious." How far does this view of the century conflict with the description which opens this chapter?
2. What is wrong with the doctrine that the purpose of trade is to create a monetary profit?
3. During the period of the Whig Oligarchy had the Tories any constructive policy which you could outline?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

CHAPTER XVI

WAR, TRADE, AND EMPIRE

PROJECT of a Treaty to Secure Permanent Peace"—such was the title of a work written shortly after the conclusion of the Congress of Utrecht which brought to an end in 1713 the eleven years of war against the France of Louis XIV. It expressed the optimistic dream of the Abbé St. Pierre, one of the delegates who had sat at the congress, for the Project proposed the formation of a League of All States, with a permanent representative congress of ambassadors, empowered to settle by arbitration all international disputes. It is both interesting and instructive to recall the Project when thinking of the United Nations Organization formed in 1946, at the conclusion of the Second World War against Germany. The Abbé's proposals interested a number of philosophers; but the same century saw three increasingly destructive and widespread major wars and the outbreak of a fourth which continued, with two brief intervals of peace with Britain, until 1815. In that year a Holy Alliance of Most Christian Princes was proposed by Alexander I of Russia, with a similarly expressed purpose; but it was described as empty verbiage and as a monument of mystical nonsense. Yet the dream persisted; and in 1919 the League of Nations, formed at the end of the war "which was to end wars," came into being to provide, it was hoped, effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. So after the Second World War was formed the United Nations Organization.

This pathetic periodic frustration of the general desire to end the tragic folly of warfare provides problems for the ordinary British public for whom this book is written. Modern war is not the expression of natural passions which cause individuals or groups to fight. A nation of millions of people is not so roused, though large sections of a nation may be emotionalized by modern methods of propaganda. On the contrary,

war results only from the deliberate purpose of the government, or of the most powerful section, of at least one of the combatants, a purpose coldly and rationally determined and planned. The immediate pretexts, the complex issues involved, or public expression of "justification," serve to obscure the unavoidable truth that the government of a particular nation believes that a war, of which success seems reasonably certain, is the best means, and perhaps the only means, of increasing that nation's wealth and power. There can be little doubt of the truth of the assertion that economic and imperial rivalries are the major motives of deliberate military aggression.

The British Government of the early eighteenth century, though Whig, did not want war (Walpole never did), until Spain and France began again to threaten the naval, commercial, and colonial supremacy which the Whig Oligarchy was successfully establishing. The Treaty of Utrecht gave Britain the Rock of Gibraltar, the "Key to the Mediterranean," and the island of Minorca, with its magnificent harbour; France had to yield Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and, except for coastal fishing rights, the disputed island of Newfoundland, with the consequent control of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the porchway and entrance into the French interior of North America. In addition Spain had to recognize the transference to Britain of France's monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonists of Latin America, and to grant qualified trading privileges. Colonial rivalry between the French and British in North America and the West Indies, commercial rivalry there and between the two nations' East India Companies, and Spanish resentment that the gold and silver she wrung from her colonial mines found its way into the pockets of British merchants, set the war-dogs growling during Walpole's ministry. But though he knew they growled he was content to let them lie,



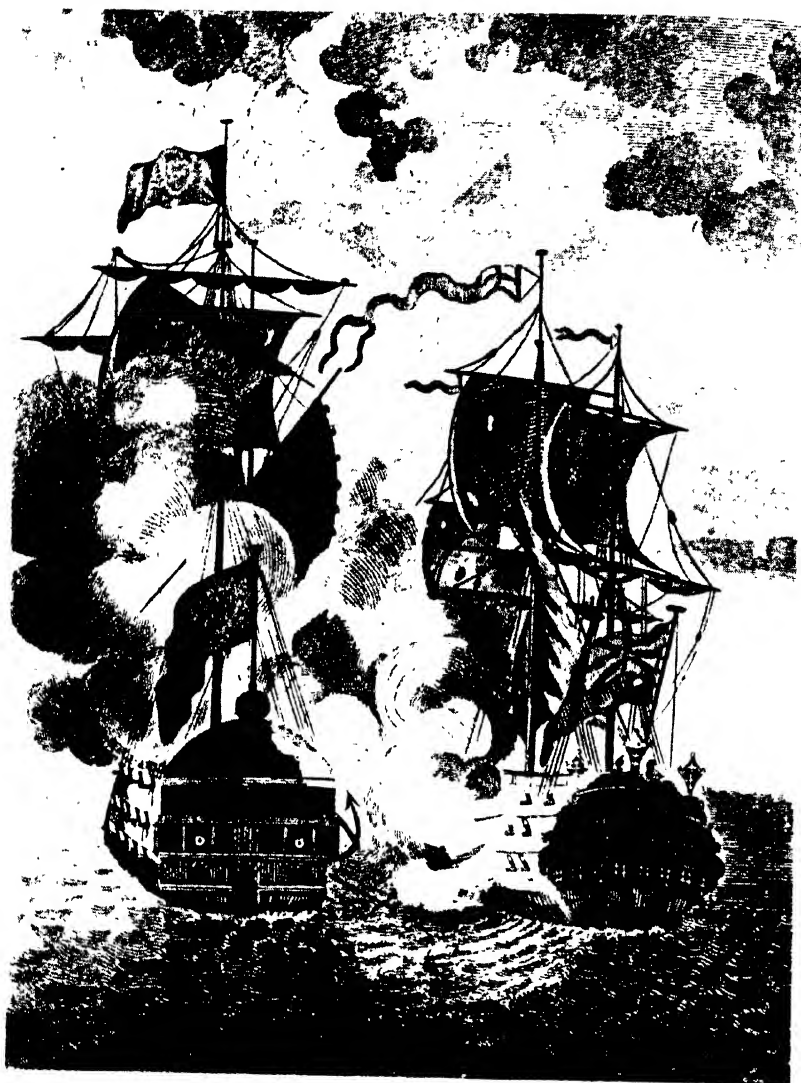
COLONIAL EXPANSION

The eighteenth century was a period of consolidating the naval and commercial supremacy of Britain, an end achieved partly through victories in the wars with France and Spain. The growing prosperity of the British possessions in the West Indies added an important contribution to the country's overseas wealth. This painting, executed by Nicholas Pocock in 1791, shows British ships off Basseterre, capital of St. Kitts, one of the Leeward Islands of the West Indies group. St. Kitts was first settled in 1623. Captured three times by the French—during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—it was restored to Britain in 1783.

though English seamen like Captain Jenkins should have their ears cut off in mid-Atlantic by angry Spaniards. When war came, the war of 1740–8, which, through Britain's Hanoverian interests, merged into Prussia's war with Austria, and again from 1756 to 1763 the Seven Years War in which Chatham at home and Clive and Wolfe in the field won fame, Britain's victory left Spain permanently weakened, and forced France to yield Canada, Cape Breton Island, all North American territory east of the Mississippi, and her most valuable islands of the West Indian Windward group. British supremacy in India was recognized, and her naval and commercial supremacy assured.

That Britain had not sought these wars is not the point; it is rather that victory in

war brought increased colonial and commercial opportunity, and that Britain's colonial and commercial lead was a constant temptation to other nations to challenge it. That it still is, or was until recently, was shown in 1939 by the nature of the German propaganda, which portrayed Britain as a bloated and self-satisfied John Bull, loaded with the wealth and territorial "possessions" of the world. It is irrelevant to argue, quite truthfully, that long before 1939 Britain had outgrown her earlier imperialism and her economic selfishness, that the British Commonwealth of Nations was not compounded of territorial possessions; that attempts to create a closed imperial economic unity had failed. What mattered and matters is the view of other nations, and their reaction, in a world system of com-



EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NAVAL ENGAGEMENT

The picture shows an engagement between the English ship Centurion, in which Anson sailed round the world, and a Spanish privateer. Lord Anson (1697–1763), one of the famous sailors of the time, on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739 was commissioned with a small fleet and instructed to inflict whatever injury he could on Spanish commerce and colonies. After three years and nine months, having completed a voyage round the world, he returned to England with only one vessel left, but with half a million pounds worth of Spanish treasure. Anson was also a first-rate administrator. For many years he did excellent work at the Admiralty, introducing a number of sound reforms. The remarkable efficiency of the navy in the late eighteenth century and after was due in no small measure to his efforts.

petitive economy, to the fact that in 1929 Britain was one of the wealthiest nations of the world, with great purchasing power, and with world-wide centres of interest.

The deliberate development of a policy of international economy which left Britain pre-eminent was the main positive contribution which the Whig Oligarchy made to British life; and the Whig conscience had no uneasy qualms about such unpractical idealism as unselfishness. For what it was worth the Whigs were justified in that the governments of their national competitors held precisely similar views.

Whig Economic Policy

The Whig policy was simple in conception, and seemed the expression of sound, practical commonsense. A nation, like a town or an individual, grows wealthy through industry or through commerce; that is, through work or through service directed respectively toward the creation of goods and the distribution of goods. As a town grows wealthy by buying raw materials from the near-by country districts, by converting them into goods of greater value, and by selling them at a price which leaves a balance of profit in the town, so a nation, with dependent colonies in undeveloped lands, could grow wealthy. The colonies could supply materials and foods unobtainable at home, and they, with less favoured nations, would provide the markets for the manufactures produced at home. Thus Walpole, in 1721, proposed that all restrictions were to be removed from British manufactures; cheap importation of raw materials was to be encouraged, and exports encouraged by bounties.

Unlike Spain, Britain fortunately for herself had to manufacture in order to buy. Spain bought goods in return for the gold and silver obtained from Spanish America, creating no wealth herself. Consequently, Spain was perpetually threatened with national bankruptcy, while her gold and silver accumulated in British coffers.

The truth of this was not clear to the early eighteenth-century economists, for they thought little, for example, of the East India Company's trade. There was no Indian market for British woollens, and most of the goods bought from the Far East had to be paid for in bullion. It was

not realized that the trade was bringing real wealth into Britain, whereas India, notwithstanding her miserly accumulation of gold, remained poor and undeveloped. British interest was focused essentially in the west, where the conditions seemed to fulfil the needs of the mercantilist policy.

The colonists, however, did not seem to appreciate the simple pattern of the scheme. They had begun to manufacture and to trade for themselves. Colonial competition in either field could not be tolerated, and Walpole's ministry forbade the colonists to engage in copper smelting or in the manufacture of fur hats. Instead they were to send the ore and the skins to Britain. Pelham, continuing Walpole's policy, prohibited in 1750 the colonial manufacture of iron goods. The number of "enumerated articles" which could be exported to England only was extended by Walpole, who also, in 1733, by the Molasses Act, tried to prevent the colonists from buying sugar from the French West Indies.

Navigation Act of 1660

There had already, in the previous century, been a protest on behalf of the tropical colonies against the Navigation Act of 1660, which restricted exporters to the use of British ships, and importation to British ships or to ships of the country sending the goods. The Act, aimed against the Dutch carrying-trade, benefited the New England colonists, whose ships were not excluded by the Act; but the planters of the tropical colonies had no ships, and the Act not only deprived them of the use of Dutch vessels, at cheap rates, but of the markets in which the "Hollanders" had sold the Virginian tobacco. The Act, it was claimed, would "not only ruin the inhabitants and planters, but make desolate the largest, and most glorious plantation" under His Majesty's dominion.

Thus in various ways the British Government endeavoured to compel the colonists to restrict their endeavours "to the production of such commodities as are fit to be encouraged in those parts, according to the true design and intention of those plantations," as had been recommended in the report of the Board of Trade in 1706. The policy had its worst results in Ireland. Prevented in 1666 from exporting livestock

BRITISH EMPIRE
IN 1763 AFTER THE
PEACE OF PARIS



**BRITISH EMPIRE
IN 1763 AFTER THE
PEACE OF PARIS**

THE
EAST
INDIA
COMPANY

THE
EAST
INDIA
COMPANY

BENGAL

EAST INDIA COMPANY

to England, the Irish had turned to wool production and to the manufacture of woollens. But one after another all Irish industries save that of linen manufacture had been crushed by the English Parliament, and there was such widespread starvation that, it was said, a crowd of famished peasants tore the flesh from a horse killed in a road accident. It would have been impossible to maintain that "the true design and intention" of the settlements in Ireland had been to provide England with raw materials and markets; and the contention was true only of a small number of the overseas settlements.

A similar policy dominated the commercial and colonial development of France, Britain's chief rival in both fields. Both nations had active trading companies in India and the Far East generally; both were actively engaged in the slave trade and had stations on the West African coast;

both were established in the West Indies. In North America Britain's thirteen colonies stretched along the eastern coast, between the wooded Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic, while the French had established the little colony of Canada at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and established claims to the vast interior, along the Mississippi Valley, claims which, if established, would prevent British expansion westward. Moreover, both nations had developing manufactures, and each regarded the other as a dangerous competitor, imposed prohibitive tariffs on the other's imports, and believed that success implied the other's failure. War seemed the only possible end to a situation in which the success of one nation depended on the destruction of another, and, as we have observed, war began in 1740, on the seas, in Europe, in India, and in North America. Interrupted by a period of uneasy peace, from 1748 to 1756, it continued until

A SUGAR FACTORY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Engraved in 1749, this print, now in the collection of the British Museum, illustrates in diagrammatic form the various stages in the making of sugar as practised in the West Indies in the eighteenth century. The method, though less elaborately organized, seems to have been in principle little different from that followed today. On the right of the picture is a sugar-cane mill with vertical rollers for crushing the cane. The juice is then boiled and purified, the residue being molasses. On the extreme left of the picture the cane is seen growing.





QUEBEC ABOUT 1730

Today the capital of the Canadian province of the same name, Quebec was founded in 1608 by the Frenchman, Samuel de Champlain. For exactly a century and a half it continued to be the centre of French trade and civilization. In 1757 it was finally captured by the British under General Wolfe and four years later was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris. The picture shows the city towards the end of the period of French supremacy. The fort is at A; C is the "Platform"; G the Hotel Dieu, H the Bishop's House.

1763, leaving Britain undisputed master in both fields. Within a generation France was bursting through the stranglehold of absolute monarchy and feudal aristocratic society which had suffocated the commercial and colonial development which had begun with so vigorous a life. But England had already suffered a major tragedy; the policy which had made Britain wealthy and strong enough to defeat France had lost her the American colonies. Irked by British restrictions on their economic development, no longer so dependent on Britain's protection now that the menace of France had been removed, they declared their independence and, with the help of Britain's national rivals, had succeeded in establishing it by 1783. It is possible now to glance more closely at the colonial side of the picture.

In 1763 there were twenty-two separate and independently organized British colonies across the Atlantic, all with a large measure of freedom, but vaguely subordinate to the British parliament, and all subject

to the general imperial trade regulations. These fell into three distinct groups; the thirteen British settlements along the mainland, stretching from the New England colonies in the north to Georgia in the tropical south; the five in the West Indies, namely, Jamaica, Barbados, the group of Leeward Islands, the Bahamas, and the group of Windward Islands captured from the French; the isolated Bermudas; and the St. Lawrence group, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and French Canada which Wolfe had conquered. Honduras had not yet developed beyond the stage of a log-cutting station dependent on Jamaica.

Many motives had led to the founding of the thirteen mainland colonies. Early groups of trading adventurers, landed on the coast of tropical North America from ships of the Virginia Trading Company, left to fend for themselves, to fight disease, hunger, and hostile natives, and expected to produce or to obtain goods for British markets, sometimes disappeared altogether, or had dwindled, when the next ship arrived,



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

The importance of the Battle of Lexington in the American War of Independence was that the first blood of the war was shed there, though the engagement was a skirmish rather than a battle. In 1775 a British force was sent to Concord, twenty miles from Boston, to destroy the military stores which the colonists were thought to have collected at that village. The engagement at Lexington, a village on the road to Concord, was between this force and the militia of the colonists, the victory through sheer force of numbers and arms going to the British. The news of the fight caused great excitement in New England, and large numbers of colonists took up arms and proceeded to blockade Boston. The colonists established themselves in entrenchments at Bunker's Hill near the town. The British then attacked and drove them from the position but the latter fought extremely well and the battle gave great encouragement to the American cause.

into a ragged, hysterical remnant. Experience, new types of settlers, the development of tobacco plantations, and the employment of Negro slaves, had combined to produce a prosperous group of southern colonies: Maryland, originally a Roman Catholic settlement, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. Here a planter aristocracy, proudly independent, relying on the slaves which in South Carolina numbered two-thirds of the population and one-third in Virginia and Maryland, had developed

New England Colonies

Entirely different in origin, in geographical conditions of land and climate, and in development, were the New England colonies in the north—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Little more than a century had gone since the Puritan exiles, a hundred and two all told, including women and children, had waded from the *Mayflower*, through icy-cold water, to found the little settlement of New Plymouth. All they possessed they had carried or dragged ashore, to hack a village home for themselves from the inhospitable forest. Others had followed them, driven from England and Scotland by the intolerant Anglican zeal of Charles I's Archbishop Laud. By 1763 there were about half a million people in the four New England colonies, dependent not on slave labour, though there were slaves, mainly in domestic employment, but on their own industry and initiative. Though they were essentially farming settlements, the New England colonies had developed a considerable oversea carrying-trade, had begun to develop industries, had a number of growing towns of which Boston was the chief, with a cultured, urban society. In every village was a school, and many colleges, some destined to develop into universities, had already been founded. Moreover, they had retained the independence, the frank, outspoken courage, the love of freedom, and general "hard-headedness" of the Puritan stock from which they had sprung.

Between these two widely divergent groups were the four cosmopolitan colonies which had been formed out of New Amsterdam after its acquisition from the Dutch in

1667. To the original Dutch and Swedish settlers steady immigration had added British, German, and, to a less extent, Swiss settlers, especially to Pennsylvania, which offered free passage, abundant opportunity, fifty acres of land after three years' work, and full British citizenship after seven years. While the four middle colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, were, like the New England ones, essentially agricultural, New York was becoming a prosperous port, and Pennsylvania had begun the manufacture of iron goods.

The inexhaustible opportunities afforded in so vast and undeveloped a land, with pioneers already beginning to look westward across the wooded Alleghenies toward the great central plains, meant that poverty was virtually unknown in any of the thirteen colonies. Nor yet was there any disproportionate distribution of wealth. Consequently, as a result of this general prosperity and its dependence on individual effort, a social equality had already begun to distinguish American society, helped by the tradition of freedom to which the colonists tenaciously clung.

Life in the West Indies was necessarily devoted almost entirely to the production of sugar and other tropical produce. Consequently society in the islands consisted of an aristocracy of wealthy planters and their Negro slaves. Jamaica was the most prosperous, followed closely by Barbados. Most of them had been the convenient headquarters of pirates, but piracy had proved a useful training for more legitimate seamanship, and the Bermudas particularly had a shipbuilding and carrying trade.

Position of Slaves

It is a curious anomaly that the people who valued freedom so highly, and who enjoyed probably the greatest measure of general freedom in the world, individual, social, and political, should have found nothing incongruous in their employment of Negro slaves. Even John Newton, the famous author of many hymns, including "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds," was a captain of a slave-ship, while the humane Quakers of Pennsylvania were not less harsh in their treatment of Negro slaves than were other owners. Once the



ADOPTION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

On 4 July, 1776, the North American States adopted the Declaration asserting their independence of the mother country. The Declaration, substantially in the form drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, was agreed to by Congress, only three adverse votes being cast. The delegates from New York took no part, but a few days later a similar form of words was approved by a convention of that State. Though fighting continued after the adoption of the Declaration, Britain recognized the thirteen original United States in 1783. A public holiday is still observed on 4 July in the United States.

principle is accepted, the harshness is intelligible, for in most of the West Indian Islands the Negroes outnumbered the whites in the proportion of ten to one, while they numbered some third of the total population of the mainland colonies, with their main concentration in the south.

The British colonies had one characteristic which differentiated them from those of any other nation: they each had a representative assembly, with a governor and council appointed by the Crown. These assemblies were empowered to make laws for the colony, to impose taxes, and indeed to carry out the whole functions of government in all matters relating to themselves, leaving to the imperial parliament of Britain those matters of general imperial concern. This was interpreted to mean that the British Government was to retain responsibility for the general defence of the colonies, and the right to direct their

commercial policy and foreign relations.

Very different were conditions in the French colonies which passed under British control in 1763. In Canada, a poor forested colony on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, there could be no tradition of freedom. Its four thousand settlers held their land on feudal tenure from the King of France, whose autocratic will controlled French policy whether in America or France. No form of self-government would have been tolerated. Nor was the colony self-supporting, as the British ones were and expected to be. The poor soil gave no encouragement to farmers, and settlers preferred the more adventurous life of trapping wild animals, with the Indians, in the coniferous forests of North America, and of depending on the sales of furs.

By means of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes the way into the heart of America was open to French exploration,

and the whole of the Mississippi Valley and the central territory down to the Gulf of Mexico had been claimed for France. Had this been settled and developed, the British would have been confined to their coastal settlements between the Alleghenies and the sea. The whole of this great undeveloped region, east of the Mississippi, passed to British control in 1763, and freed the way for the western expansion of the colonists. The rest, the region between the Mississippi and the Rockies, with the exception of Texas, which was Mexican, was sold to the "colonists" when they had ceased to be colonists and had become the United States of America.

It is easy to understand the resentment of the British colonists, with their tradition of political freedom and their developing economic independence, at the economic restrictions imposed on them by the British parliament. They had consistently tried to evade these restrictions, with some success, and the home government had not seriously attempted to stop this evasion. But the expenses of the Seven Years War persuaded the British Government to enforce the restrictions, and to make the colonists pay a share toward the cost of the war by

the Stamp Act, which stated that a stamp should be affixed in future to every legal document signed in the colonies. This was the first attempt of the British parliament to impose a direct tax on the colonists, who refused to pay it, called a congress of representatives of all the colonies, claimed that as they were not represented in the British parliament they could not be taxed by it, and demanded the repeal of the Act. The Act was repealed, but increased indirect taxes were levied on tea, glass, and paper, and the British Government asserted its power to impose laws and taxes on the colonists. When more violent agitation prompted the vacillating government to repeal all the taxes except that on tea, an exception intended to conserve the principle, fifty colonists emptied a cargo of tea into Boston harbour.

Force was met by force, and a new congress drew up the Declaration of Rights, including the colonists' "right" to make their own laws and to levy their own taxes. The arrival of British forces only stiffened the colonists' opposition, and on 4 July, 1776, they signed the famous Declaration of Independence. By 1783 they had won their independence. Britain had lost her

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK

The most famous English navigator and discoverer of the eighteenth century was James Cook, a naval captain, born at Marton in Yorkshire. His explorations in many parts of the South Seas and North Pacific greatly increased our knowledge of those areas. He also acquired for Britain her title in Australia. In 1779 he landed with some of his men at Kealahakua Bay in Hawaii to seize a hostage from the natives, and was attacked and killed on the shore as depicted in the print reproduced below.



thirteen colonies, and the "United States of America" was born.

In 1623 a number of British merchants, having defied the Dutch claim to a monopoly of the trade east of Sumatra, were massacred in Amboyna, an island of the Moluccas; and the Dutch were left with little further interference in commercial supremacy in the Spice Islands. Already the British had opened a mainland trading depot or "factory" at Surat, a port on the west coast of India, after overcoming Portuguese resistance to the intrusion, and thereafter the British merchants concentrated their interest on mainland trade.

The idea behind the establishment of such trading outposts was, at first, very similar to that which led to the founding of the early American colonies. A trading company, with its headquarters in London, simply sent out a ship with goods and a number of men willing to stay behind to form a trading nucleus. But whereas such outposts in America were planted in a comparatively empty continent, on land claimed by the British and granted to a

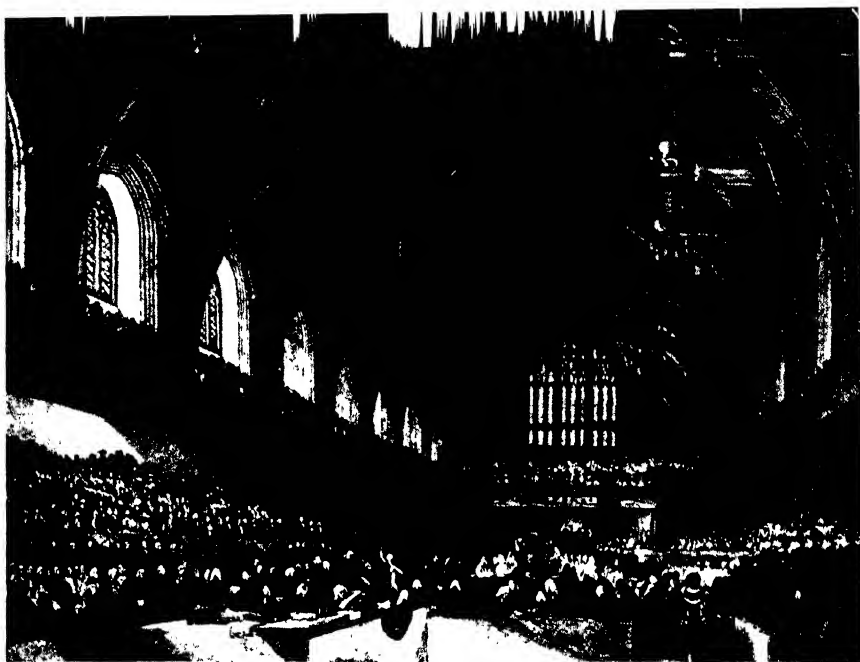
company or to a subject by the monarchy, in India such outposts were just groups of visiting traders, tolerated in a densely populated country.

Moreover, the peoples of India, notwithstanding their divisions, which were greater than those which separated the nations of Europe, had a civilization and philosophy of their own, an expression of their conception of life as they had evolved it through the centuries. As opposed to their culture, that of Europe was presented to them mainly by four classes of people: merchants of different nations, who were present to make a profit for themselves and for their companies, whose philosophy, if it could be dignified with such a term, seemed a cut-throat competition for the acquisition of material wealth; soldiers, who represented the rule of force; missionaries, whose doctrine of a universal brotherhood of mankind, when it could be extracted from their own doctrinal differences, seemed strangely inconsistent with the practices of the Christian peoples represented; and, rarely, such noble souls

A CENTRE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Much of Britain's supremacy in India was due to the efforts of the East India Company and the successful outcome of the rivalry between the British and French companies. This perspective picture shows Fort St. George, on the Coromandel coast, one of the chief centres of the company from the time of its building in 1640. Then, about forty years after the company had been chartered by Queen Elizabeth, the principal factories were transferred to the new fort, which during the eighteenth century was twice invested by the French. It fell to them in 1746, though returned to the British two years later by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, but on the second occasion in 1758 it was relieved after two months' siege.





TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS

This is a contemporary drawing of the scene in Westminster Hall when Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of India, was acquitted of charges laid against him, including oppression of the natives and other "high crimes and misdemeanours." Hastings was appointed Governor-General in 1773, and continued in office until his resignation in 1785. The following year the impeachment was made, but the actual trial did not begin until 1788. Legal proceedings dragged on for nearly eight years, during which time orators such as Burke and Fox were arrayed against the defendant. The verdict was "not guilty."

as Warren Hastings, of whom, when his own government sought to impeach him, the people of Benares wrote: "He laid the foundations of justice and the pillars of the law. In every shape, we, the inhabitants of this country, during the time of his administration, lived in ease and peace. . . . In every way he cherished us in honour and credit."

At the time of the Whig régime in Britain only two national companies had survived as serious rivals for the trade of India: those of Britain and France. Each had depots in the three more important regions of India: Bombay had replaced Surat as the main depot of British trade in western India, with the French station at Mahé as its rival; Calcutta and Chandernagore, on opposite banks of the Hooghly, were the centres of trade of Bengal and the Ganges valley; Madras and Pondicherry

were respectively the British and French trading centres in the Carnatic, the fertile province of the south-east. Both the British and the French merchants had been content to work with at least mutual tolerance, for there was trade enough for the companies of both nations, and clashes either with natives or with other merchants interfered with profits. The situation changed when Joseph François Duplex (pronounced D'yü-plex) attempted to capture for France the whole of the trade of the Carnatic, to intrigue with native princes, and to plan the expulsion of the British. The new situation was the reflection in India of the Anglo-French rivalry which led, as we have already observed, to the outbreak of war in 1740.

In 1744 Duplex, with the assistance of a French fleet, captured Madras, and its

little trading community was taken in captivity to Pondicherry. Amongst the prisoners was Robert Clive, a clerk of the company, whose wild, reckless and adventurous spirit was now to find more congenial occupation. He escaped from Pondicherry, adopted Dupleix's method of using trained natives or sepoys as soldiers, won their veneration by his astonishing courage, and by 1748 had succeeded in establishing British supremacy in the Carnatic.

In 1756, the year of the renewal of the war in Europe and North America, the friendly Nawab of Bengal died, and was succeeded by the brutal and stupid Suraja Dowlah. Pretending that the strengthening of the defences of their depot by the British was an act of hostility Suraja Dowlah captured the factory and imprisoned the survivors. It was reported that only twenty-three of the hundred and forty-six imprisoned in the Black Hole of Calcutta survived one night. Clive, returned from leave in England, was given the task of punishing the outrage, and with some three thousand men attacked the Rajah's army of fifty thousand. The British victory at Plassey had far-reaching consequences. Suraja Dowlah, defeated and murdered, was replaced by Mir Jaffir, a puppet prince entirely dependent on the British arms, which meant that the Company's servants were in fact the sovereign power in Bengal. In 1760 the French in the south were

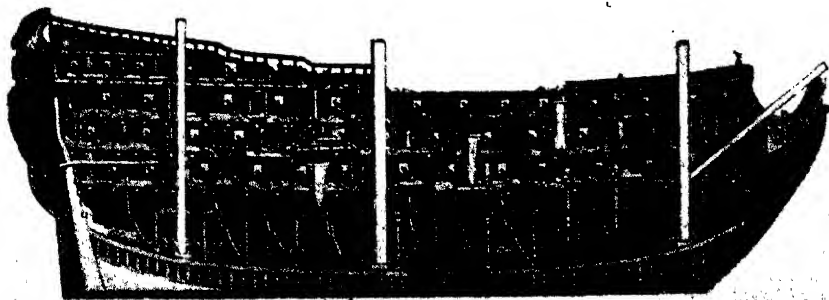
finally defeated, at Wandewash, and the British were left supreme in the Carnatic.

Government without responsibility is a tyranny, and such was the situation which Clive left in Bengal, for it was not the British Government which was sovereign there but the Company's representatives, who had the opportunity for unrestrained exploitation, for plunder, and for the amassing of private fortunes. The fantastic situation, which had not been deliberately created, was given some sort of recognition when Clive, sent out for a third time, with the task of establishing discipline and order in Bengal, created the system of Dual Control, by which the company was given the responsibility of administering the province and of the collection and expenditure of its revenues.

Though unwilling to undertake imperial responsibilities in India, the British Government in 1774 created the office of Governor-General. Warren Hastings, appointed to the office, ended the worst abuses of the system, enforced against great opposition the principle that authority implied responsibility, and put the principle into practice by organizing a system of equal justice for all. Ten years later, Pitt's India Act created a Board of Control as a State Department with the task of supervising the actions of the Company's directors. The Act stated that "the extension of dominion" was "repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation." But though neither the

SHIP OF WAR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Published by Alexander Hogg in 1794, this picture shows a sectional view of what is described as a first-rate ship of war of the English Fleet. By that time marine construction had progressed far from the comparatively crude architecture of Tudor and Elizabethan men of war. Indeed, except that the ships were of timber and the only effective power used was sail power, the arrangement of the various compartments was roughly in line with modern usage and the armaments were highly efficient. Steam was not used in the British Royal Navy until 1840, and the first ironclad was not commissioned until 1860.





"AI AT LLOYD'S"

"AI at Lloyd's" is the phrase used to describe the best marine risks, hence the use of AI in current slang to describe something of exceptional quality. The drawing shows a scene inside Lloyd's when it was housed in the Royal Exchange. About 1690 a certain Edward Lloyd, proprietor of a coffee-house in Tower Street and later of one in Lombard Street, which was the resort of merchants and ship-owners, founded the organization which later became the centre of the marine insurance profession. Lloyd's moved to the Royal Exchange in 1773, where it remained apart from a period of rebuilding after the fire of 1838 until 1928, when another move was made, this time to Leadenhall Street

Government nor the Company's directors wished for any extension of dominion, and though Governors-General went out with the firm intention of avoiding any such extension, it was to take place notwithstanding. Opposition had to be crushed as the only alternative to withdrawal, and this implied in practice the extension of the area of military domination. During the Napoleonic Wars French intrigues in India and the hostility of the war-loving Mahrattas persuaded Lord Mornington, later the Marquess of Wellesley, and brother of the Duke of Wellington, to crush all opposition once and for all. He crushed what there was, and was recalled for his pains, and so the process of imperial expansion continued. In 1833 the East India Company ceased to be a trading company, and was transformed officially into an instrument of government.

So the situation, with its problems unsolved, was virtually to remain for

rather more than half a century; but the events which changed it belong to a later chapter.

Long before the events just described, the Whig Oligarchy had ended. George III, who succeeded his grandfather in 1760, determined as a young man who "gloried in the name of Briton" to "be a king," and to restore to the Crown the authority which, he believed, the Whigs had usurped. Long opposition to the Whigs had created a new, vigorous Tory party, of young men, and Bolingbroke had given them the creed of "the Patriot King." The idea of creating a benevolent despotism appealed to the King, and the disunity of the Whig families seemed to provide him with the opportunity of reasserting monarchic authority. It was, however, too late to shake the power of the House of Commons, so, by a system of bribery more extensive than the Whigs had ever practised, George created a party



THE HARBOUR OF LEITH

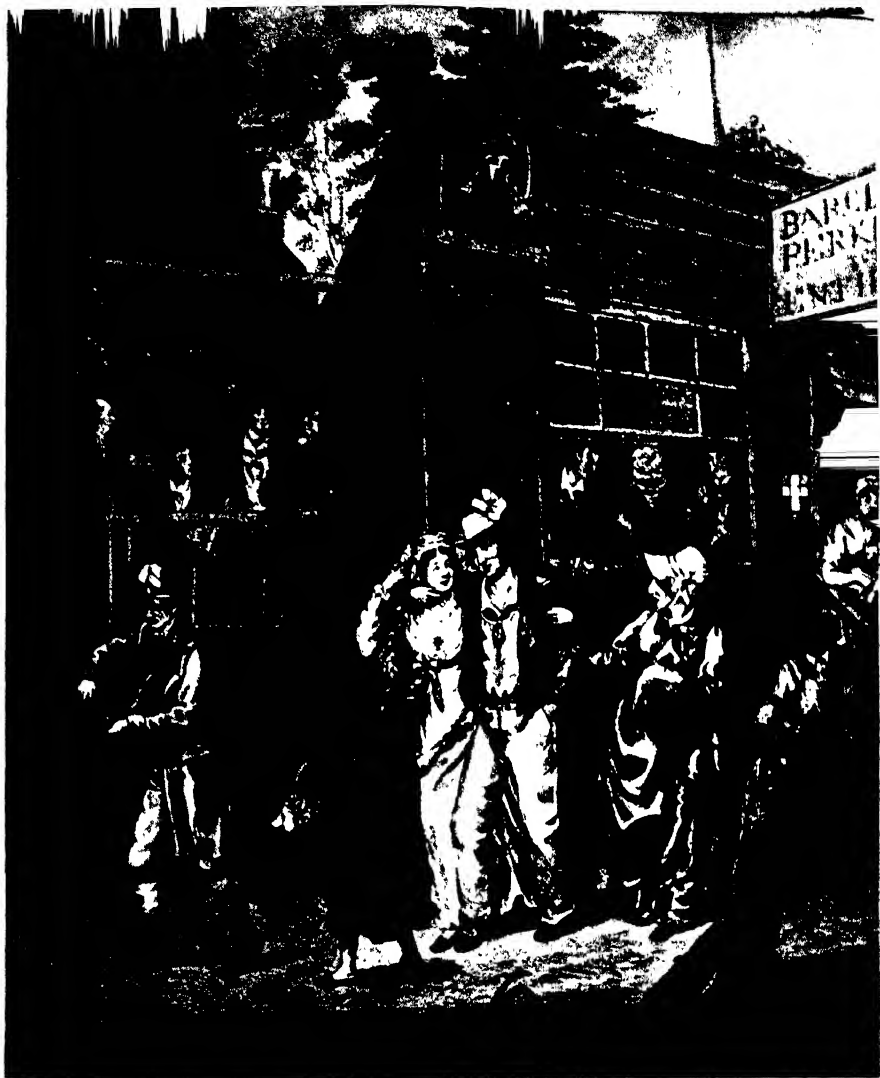
This picture shows Leith, the harbour of Edinburgh, in the early nineteenth century. Leith was one of the principal ports of Scotland from medieval times. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the trade of the port greatly increased. The old wet docks were constructed in the first few years of the nineteenth century. Several fine docks were also built in Victorian times. In addition to a large coasting traffic, the port sent out many ships to the developing British colonies.

of "King's Friends" who, with the more-conventional Tories, would be strong enough to ensure the passing of measures approved or suggested by the King. Obstinate, narrow-minded, and unintelligent, jealous of his authority, such a king could tolerate as ministers only second-rate men. They provoked the American colonists into rebellion, then mismanaged and lost the war. They had to suffer the humiliation of having to sign the treaty which granted American independence at Versailles, the French King's palace. The navy was neglected, and naval supremacy at least temporarily lost. At home the evil social conditions were unremedied, and ominous growlings suggested that the sleeping dogs were awakening.

General misery and the characteristic of a widespread poverty are the inevitable results of a gold-hoarding policy, whether in a miser's home or in a mercantilist nation. The system did not die with the Whig Oligarchy, and there is considerable

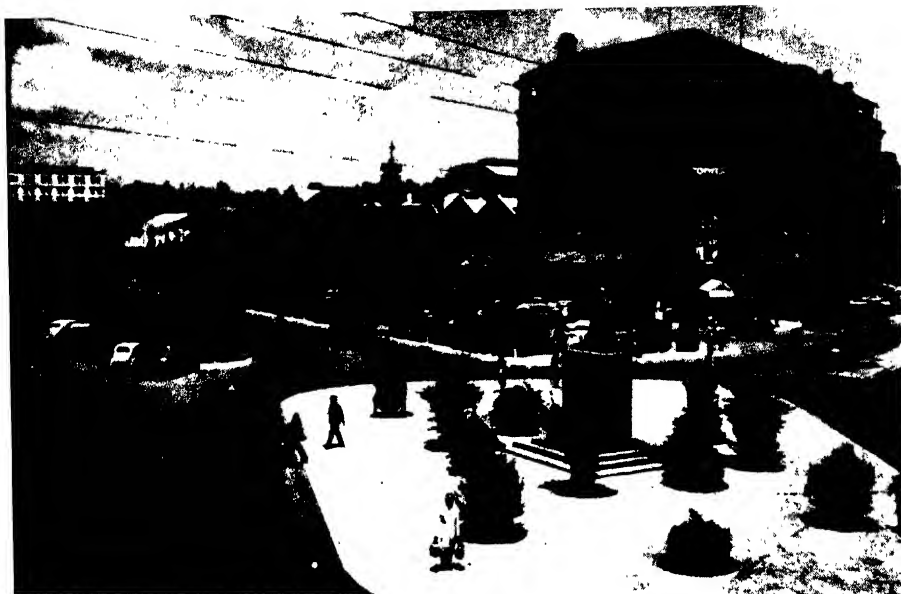
evidence of the shocking conditions which were rapidly developing in the growing industrial towns during the reign of the Patriot King. In 1796 the Manchester Board of Health, anxious to reduce the prevalence of contagious diseases in the town, issued a report on the condition of children working in local cotton factories. The children were "peculiarly disposed to be affected by the contagion of fever," for they were "crowded together in the same apartments." They were closely confined in factories, in "hot and impure air," without the opportunity for exercise; they were compelled to endure "the untimely labour of the night, and the protracted labour of the day," and were generally "debarred from all opportunities of education, and from moral and religious instruction."

The mercantilist principle was challenged in 1776 by the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Adam Smith, a Scottish professor, propounded the rational doctrine, which had already found expression



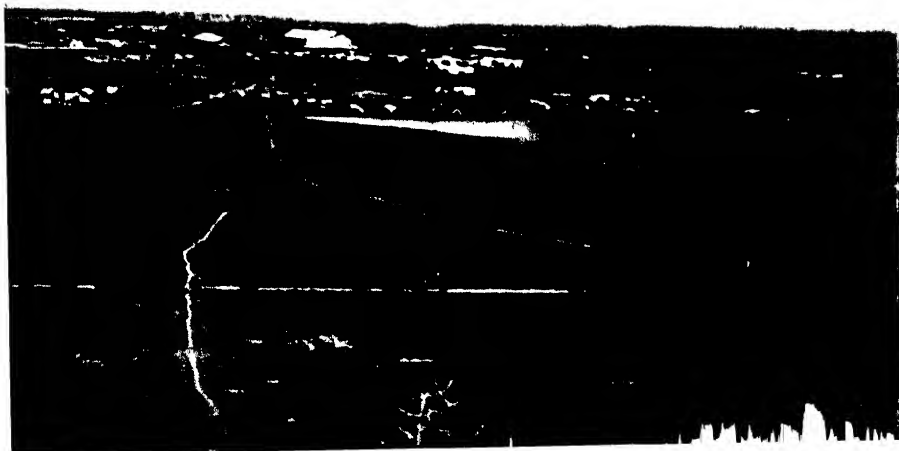
SAILOR'S WEDDING

As a nation of seafarers it is natural for the British people to commemorate with special affection their naval victories and their great admirals. This picture, entitled "The Sailor's Wedding," which was published in 1828, illustrates one phase of that truth as well as throwing light on contemporary manners and dress. The picture on the wall of the inn is of Admiral Howe, Earl Howe, who was First Lord of the Admiralty in 1783 and in command of the Channel Fleet during the war with France. It was Howe who won the decisive victory in 1794 on the "Glorious First of June" which turned the fortunes of the war. In 1797 he was appointed to settle the great naval mutiny at Spithead. The mutinies in the fleet at Spithead and the Nore broke out as a result of the bad conditions of life afloat at that time. Howe was liked and trusted by the sailors and succeeded in pacifying them. Some improvement in conditions and treatment of sailors in the Navy resulted.



NAIROBI, 1900 1950

In 1900 the site of Nairobi was no more than a water-hole for cattle. Today Nairobi is the capital of Kenya and the largest town in colonial Africa, with a population of about 150,000. The two photographs reveal the astonishing contrast before and after fifty years of progress and development, a story matched by that of many cities and towns within the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Colonial Empire. The rapid rise of Nairobi was due to its selection as the headquarters of the Uganda railway; its first buildings were erected in 1899. Thereafter the land was rapidly colonized, and Nairobi itself grew in importance until, in 1907, it was made the administrative headquarters of the colony. The 1900 photograph, seen below, shows the narrow-gauge railway running across the plain in the foreground, while beyond is the collection of workers' huts and workshops. The modern photograph, seen above, reveals Nairobi today as a place of well-planned streets and fine public buildings.



in France, that trade did not increase the wealth of both nations participating in it. The more goods which could be brought into a country, the greater would be the general prosperity, and the greater the number of desirable possessions; hence, the object of an export trade should not be the importation of bullion, but the importation of goods. It followed, he suggested, that protective tariffs and similar economic barriers to international trade were obstacles to the growth of national wealth, and that there should be freedom of trade between nations. In order to achieve this maximum purchasing capacity, whether of bullion or of real wealth, a nation should produce to its greatest capacity, and that production could be most readily increased by the process of specialization which, in more recent times, has made "mass-production" possible. The fundamental principle is equally applicable to internal trade. If factories produce goods which millions of workers can afford to buy, both producer and consumer tend to merge into a unity profiting by its own industry.

One of the most enthusiastic of Adam Smith's disciples was William Pitt, son of the "Great Commoner" whose energy had been largely responsible for the successes of the Seven Years War, and whose voice had thundered against the follies which had lost the colonies he had done so much to defend. The humiliating failures of the governments of the first twenty-three years of the reign of the Patriot King brought the youthful Pitt to the Premiership, full of confidence in himself, and inspired with ideals for general and economic reform. The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 ended his dreams, and fear of similar

revolution in England stiffened the young Tory party into a reactionary body, frightened by the very word "reform." Soon Britain had to fight for her existence against an all-conquering Napoleon, who, with Europe at his feet, tried to starve an obstinate Britain into submission. The effort destroyed him, for Europe, and French armies, needed goods which Britain alone could supply. Such goods were supplied by Britain to Europe under special licences which Napoleon was compelled to grant in increasing numbers. The speech of Bernadotte to the Swedish parliament in 1810, in which he denounced the impoverished nation, with "no one for export resting in the public squares," to defy Napoleon, illustrates the suffering imposed on European nations by the attempted blockade of Britain and the veto on her European trade.

By 1815, with Napoleon conquered and in exile, Britain had laid the foundation of a second empire. She had acquired the greater part of the Dutch trade in the Spice Islands, and Holland ceded Cape Colony and Ceylon, invaluable calling stations on the route to the east. Unwillingly enough she had founded an empire in India. Her first colony in Australia was already twenty-seven years old.

Pitt had not lived to see the downfall of the tyrant who had caused the postponement of economic and social reform for more than a generation. He had lived long enough to unite England and Ireland, in a vain attempt to solve the tragic problems of a country whose people had suffered, more than those of any other, through general misunderstanding, through an unsympathetic colonial policy, and through selfish commercialism.

Test Yourself

1. How far would you agree with the view that a peace treaty usually contains the germ of the next war?
2. What were the main achievements of the Whig Oligarchy?
3. Summarize the different motives which led to the establishment of British colonies and possessions across the Atlantic.
4. Why did the British trading outposts in India and in North America develop along very different lines?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

THE TRAVAIL OF IRELAND

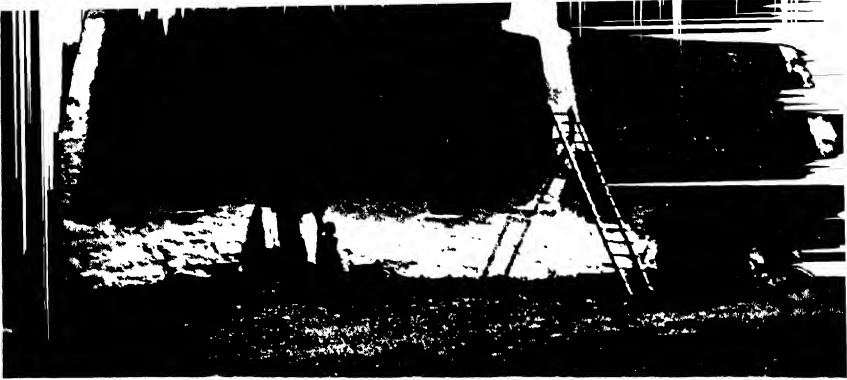
MOST English people have never understood what is usually called "the Irish problem," nor do they now, any more than they have understood the Irish people. Yet the history is as simple as it is tragic, and in its essentials can be summarized in a sentence. The English, in a series of bloody conquests, undertaken mainly for economic reasons, confiscated and settled in the fertile regions of Ireland, failed to exterminate the native population, established themselves as a politically all-powerful and intolerant minority, and, finally, saw the depressed, miserably poor, crushed, and scattered peoples develop a spirit of ardent nationalism vigorous enough to undo the conquest. To this it may be added that most of the peoples who have entered Ireland, whether to conquer or to seek refuge in the last western outpost of the Old World, "seem to have been absorbed into the ancient race, to have succumbed to the magic of the strange, poor land, where chieftains continued to fight for the possession of the few areas that would yield a return for labour, and where peasants in scattered hovels lived their poor lives, sang strange and beautiful songs, and listened to the voices in the wind and the trees. That the more materially minded and commercially interested English and Anglo-Scots were slower to become merged into Irish nationalism than previous settlers is not surprising; but that they are becoming, and that many have become, so merged, has to be understood to make modern Irish history intelligible.

The story of Ireland may still be read in Ireland itself, recorded in the pathetic contrasts of life which are there for every traveller to see. In the mountain rim which surrounds the boggy depression of the Central Plain are rich, fertile valleys, with extensive farms which provide the ham and bacon, the livestock, eggs, and the barley for whisky and stout, the exports which explain the prosperity of the western towns

and ports. Within easy reach of any such centre of relative prosperity are the indescribably poor regions where a bare existence only is made possible by scratching the inhospitable mountain-side, or by fishing. In such districts as part of Donegal, wind-swept and flooded by Atlantic gales, where land is rock-strewn and unyielding, Irish cottagers continue somehow to live their bleak and primitive lives.

Nor is this the only kind of contrast. From the modern, urban life of the city and town, from the large and prosperous farms of the fertile regions where the standard of life is reasonable, one passes almost suddenly into a life that is medieval, or, even primeval. Sean O'Faolain, in *The Story of Ireland*, writes that a traveller, pursuing the circuit of Ireland, would be "diving from Time to Time like a dolphin. . . . The poor lands are, by history, linked to the centuries when the natives were driven out of the profitable lands. in hardship they retained, and have atavistically retained to this day, the traditions of the life they lost. Here one gets the twenty-five-acre farms raising families of six, eight, or ten children. . . . Connemara, Mayo, Sligo are foreign-looking through being so patriarchally native. Life here is cruelly hard: farms as small as ten bad acres rearing very large families, most of them doomed to emigrate."

It is important to observe the difference between the settlements which produced these conditions and other settlements which seemed similar enough at the time, but which have had very different results. The English plantations in Ireland differed, for example, from those in America, which were plantations in a comparatively empty and undeveloped continent of unlimited resources. In extreme contrast to these settlements were the trading stations of India, where a vast population made any thought of settlement or absorption inconceivable, and permitted only the establish-



KILLARNEY HOMESTEAD

Irish rural life is full of contrasts. There are many rich valleys in which the farms are prosperous and the standard of living high. The greater part of Ireland, however, is an impoverished countryside, whether in the boggy central plain or in the mountainous districts. All over Ireland there are hundreds of one-storeyed thatched and whitewashed homesteads such as that shown above, many of them old, many of them in a sad state of disrepair. In them the standard of living is no higher than that of the Scottish crofter of the far north

ment of an imperial authority wielded by a foreign nation strong enough to impose and to maintain it. The conditions in Ireland fell between these two successful possibilities.

The English settlers in Ireland were not numerous enough to absorb or to exterminate the native population; they were numerous enough to seize and hold most fertile regions and to develop them; they were too numerous, in relation to the native population, to regard themselves as small outposts of an English imperial authority. Thus there was an enduring cleavage, at once political, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and social. That the Irish should have resisted whenever possible was inevitable; while the nature of the conquest, pitiless in a cruel age, created a hatred from which Irish nationalism derived much of its vigour.

The conquest began in Tudor times, when expansion westward was tempting the adventurous, and when, with developing international rivalries, Ireland was becoming of strategic interest to Great Britain.

The Norman-English adventurers of

medieval times had not tried to conquer Ireland either for themselves or for the English king. In characteristically Viking manner they had become absorbed into Irish life, merging into the disorder which had tempted their invasions, replacing Irish chieftains to war amongst themselves for local power. Only around Dublin, the seat of an almost fictitious authority, was there any pretence of English control. The attempt made in 1366 by the Kilkenny Statutes to check the adoption of Irish ways by Henry VII's appointment in 1494 of Sir Edward Poynings as deputy marked the beginning of a new régime, for the Tudor sovereigns would tolerate neither disorder nor defiance. By the series of statutes known collectively as "Poynings' Law" all laws "lately passed in England" were to be valid in Ireland, and soon that meant all laws passed in England at any time; all laws passed by the Irish parliament at Dublin were to receive the sanction of the English sovereign and the Privy Council before they could be recognized. The Tudor determination to make this implied domination a reality marks the beginning of the conquest of Ireland.



IRISH LINEN MANUFACTURE

The phrase "Irish Linen" has become a guarantee of fine workmanship and enduring quality. The foundations of the modern manufacturing industry were laid in the workshops, farms and cottages of the Irish countryside in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These three drawings, all dating from the latter part of the eighteenth century, represent processes in a rural craft which was at the time virtually the only source of additional wealth for the Irish people other than the poor return from working the land. The first picture, seen above, illustrates taking the flax out of the bog and spreading it to dry. The second, seen below, illustrates the normal processing of the flax after it has been dried, while the third (see opposite page) shows spinning and reeling in a farmhouse workshop. When woven the resultant cloth is brownish in colour (unbleached linen), but the greater part of Irish linen is bleached to remove all natural colouring matter and the dressing used in weaving.



Henry VIII, as astute as he was masterful, tempted the Irish chieftains to surrender their lands and to receive them back as fiefs held from the English king, by the promise of titles. There seemed little danger in this "Surrender and Re-grant Policy," and, amongst those who fell for the bait, the O'Neills of the north became Earls of Tyrone; the Burkes of the west became Earls of Clanrickarde; and the O'Briens of the south became Earls of Thomond. The cunning of the process lay in its effect on the chieftains. Those who had surrendered their land were liegemen of

County, meant fifty years of brutal warfare.

So began the process. It was increasing, though not consistently, embittered by religion when, after Mary's death, England finally broke with Rome. Spain, the Pope, and the Jesuits, found in Ireland an opportunity not to be missed, and medieval-minded Ireland was a fruitful ground for counter-Reformation propaganda. In response to an invitation from James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, a Spanish force landed on the coast of Kerry, but soon six hundred of their naked and mutilated bodies were spread on the sands as a reward for their



the English sovereign, and were using titles which he had granted; they were immediately distrusted as leaders of the Irish, and even the greatest of them, Hugh O'Neill, was to earn his title of Earl of Tyrone by fighting on the side of Raleigh and Sidney against the Irish, in Elizabeth's reign.

Not all the Irish chieftains were willing even nominally to surrender their independence, and among the more obstinate were the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Mores of Leix. The conquest, confiscation, and settlement, or plantation, of these lands in the reign of Mary Tudor, who renamed them King's County and Queen's

interference. English adventurers like Raleigh, Sidney, Carew, or Perrott, fighting to repress what they regarded as "rebellion," made more ruthless by the growing hatred of Spain, and tempted by the hope of grants and confiscations, destroyed and slaughtered with pitiless thoroughness. "By 1583 the south was a desert of tangled briars, wild grasses, and charred homesteads." The fertile regions were granted to English settlers, Raleigh alone receiving forty thousand acres. Such was the Plantation of Munster. Along the valley spreading westward from Cork harbour, along the valley of the Blackwater and the

Golden Vale section which extends to the Shannon estuary, English settlements were planted, while surviving Irish found what refuge they could in the mountainous lands of Kerry.

Ulster, in the north-east of Ireland, forms a separate basin, sheltered from the worst of the Atlantic rain-winds by the mountains of Donegal, and by the rim of mountains in the east from the cold winds which come across Europe from Asia. In the centre of the depression is Lough Neagh, and along the valleys of the rivers which drain into it is some of Ireland's most fertile land. To his lands in Ulster retired Hugh O'Neill, the red-bearded Gaelic chieftain who, for his help against the Irish of Munster, had been created Earl of Tyrone. To be both an Irish chieftain and an English peer involved no serious problem so long as it meant nothing more than fighting against the Irish at the opposite extremity of the island, for Irish nationalism was not yet born. But when the pressure of English conquest began to threaten in the north, with Monaghan seized in the south-east and its chieftain hanged, with Hugh O'Donnell of Donegal at bay in the west, with the English Government asking him for help to crush his neighbours, the situation was different. In 1595 he began to organize northern Ireland for its defence.

Confiscation of Ulster

Five years of war left Ulster a wilderness, ready for confiscation and settlement. O'Neill and lesser chieftains fled to Rome. Scottish and English settlers replaced the native Irish of Ulster more completely than had occurred in previous plantations in other parts of Ireland, and, in this most fertile region, a Protestant colony was firmly established. Elsewhere the plantations were, in the main, isolated wedges along fertile valleys; in Ulster, more geographically an entity, more continuous settlement was possible.

By the end of the sixteenth century, therefore, the prosperous parts of Ireland were settled by English and Scottish Protestant colonists, supported by the English Government. The Irish, a numerical majority, were leaderless, scattered, and compelled either to mingle at a social and economic disadvantage with the settlers,

who hated them as Roman Catholics and despised them as Irish, or to flee into the more barren regions to live as best they could. But out of these scattered and depressed people Irish nationalism was born.

Elizabeth had died before the events which ended in the Plantation of Ulster were completed. James I, a lover of peace, but out of touch with his times, offered a general pardon to "the rebels," attempted various forms of "reconciliation," but saw no reason to check continued settlement. Thus the process of English penetration continued, with only local resistance, but with sufficient resistance to create in England the impression of continued disorder and rebelliousness. In 1632 Charles I sent to Ireland, as deputy, his ablest minister, Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford. His aim was not merely to reduce Ireland to passive tranquillity, but to turn it into a royal stronghold, capable of supplying the King with troops and goods should he need them.

Development of Natural Resources

Wentworth's policy in Ireland earned the name of "Thorough." Wise enough to recognize that the first need was to make Ireland prosperous, Wentworth began the systematic development of Ireland's natural sources of wealth. The growth of flax and the manufacture of linen were encouraged in Ulster. The breeds of cattle were improved, dairy produce increased, and the export of hides and tallow freed from duties. Plans for the conservation of forests, the extension of Irish fisheries, and the development of mineral resources followed. Further, justice was to be enforced, and order maintained.

Excellent as was this planned development, its inevitable result was to increase the prosperity of the English and Scottish settlers, if only because they held the fertile regions, and, therefore, to increase the economic and social gulf between them and the Irish. Moreover, as Wentworth did not scruple to break promises made through the Irish parliament to the Irish people, any hope of establishing confidence in the British Government was lost. Finally, news that plans for the plantation of Connaught, the only province still principally Irish,



VILLAGE LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The poverty of life on the land and recurrent famine have never quenched the high spirits of the Irish people; nor did their long fight against union with Great Britain ever dim the spirit of their gaiety. The illustration, which is from a picture by Stephen Miller, depicts a feast day in an Irish village towards the end of the eighteenth century. The vast majority of the Irish population were at that time workers on the land. The one-storeyed whitewashed and thatched cottage seen on the left of the picture was still their typical dwelling-place.

were being prepared, drove the Irish to look for the first opportunity to rebel.

The outbreak of the civil war, the recall and fall of Strafford, and the preoccupation of England which left the pampered colonists without their usual support, provided the opportunity. In 1641, claiming to be fighting for the King against Puritan rebels, the Irish massacred some thousands of the colonists, including women and children. The carnage was as useless as it was horrible. Eight months after the execution of the King, Cromwell, as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, landed at Dublin with twelve thousand men, determined, as "Minister of God's Justice," to avenge without mercy or pity "the innocent blood that had been shed." The awful vengeance, so terrible as to leave the people too stupefied to act for their own preservation, has left the "Curse of Cromwell" a symbolic pronouncement of terrifying doom.

After September, 1653, Roman Catholic Irish, even suspected of having supported

the rising of 1641, and owning property of more than the annual value of £10, had to move westward across the Shannon into the poor and rugged region of Connaught. Those permitted to stay were to speak only the English tongue and bring up their children as Protestants. "To Hell or Connaught" was the Irish view of their enforced choice.

The accession of James II, a Roman Catholic, to the throne of Britain in 1685 altered the destiny of the Irish peoples. A Roman Catholic, Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant, with the two objects of creating a Roman Catholic army to support James in England, and of crushing Protestantism in Ireland. Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell determined to use the opportunity to establish Irish independence. In 1688 James II fled from England and the Protestant William of Orange landed at Brixham. In the intervening years Tyrconnell had created a Roman Catholic army, a Roman Catholic parliament, and driven most of the Protes-



DUBLIN IN 1800

The Royal Exchange is seen in the background of this general view of Capel Street, drawn by James Hilton in 1800 and now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. At the time Dublin was in a state of disturbance bordering on anarchy. It was involved in the conspiracy of 1798 and the insurrection of 1803, but throughout the period life continued with "business as usual" in the typically Irish fashion. Hence the strange contrasts in the picture, with the dandy rubbing shoulders with the poor and vicious, and the mounted guards going on their way past carts and carriages on their lawful occasions. Note that though the street surface was still of stone cobbles, footpaths were provided for pedestrians.

tants to seek refuge in the towns, particularly in Londonderry and Enniskillen, which were besieged. In March, 1689, James II landed in Ireland with about a thousand troops, finding what could be called for the first time in its history a united nation, bent on establishing its independence.

The first necessity was to wrench Ulster from Protestant control; but Londonderry was gallantly defended by its nearly starved inhabitants for fifteen weeks, when it was relieved by a force from England. Three days later the Irish Army was defeated at Newton Butler by the garrison of Enniskillen, and Ulster was secured for the Protestants. William himself, realizing the strategic importance of Ireland, especially after the French had gained command of the English Channel by their defeat of the Dutch and English fleets off Beachy Head, determined to bring an army to Ireland and to conquer it once and for all. The Irish, deserted by James and by the French troops, were organized for resistance under the

gallant Frederick Sarsfield, and held out most stubbornly in Munster and Connaught. Though new French reinforcements arrived, the end was inevitable. It came with the surrender of Limerick, on terms that the Roman Catholics should be allowed freedom of worship.

Limerick is still known as "The City of the Broken Treaty," for the terms on which it had surrendered were shamelessly ignored. The British Government was determined to reduce Ireland to complete dependence; the Protestants of Ireland were equally determined to reduce the Irish Roman Catholics to absolute impotence. Consequently, the period from 1696 to 1746 is characterized by a savage legislation which left to the Irish people little but the air they breathed.

The inhumanity of the Penal Laws, which gave the Anglican minority in Ireland every conceivable privilege, and reduced the mass of the population to a condition of ignorance and beggary, is surely unparalleled in history, for even the savage

French persecution of the Huguenots was directed against a minority which had been granted both political and religious privileges within the State. In 1692 an Act of the British parliament excluded from the Irish parliament all Roman Catholics. That the Irish Protestants made no effective protest to the assumption of the parliament at Westminster to legislative authority over the Irish parliament, a dangerous precedent, was due to the fact that the particular Act gave them a complete monopoly of political power in Ireland itself. This power they immediately began to wield to destroy every surviving Roman Catholic liberty.

By forbidding any Roman Catholics to teach, either in schools or privately, or to send their children overseas to be educated, and by encouraging informers by promises of half the confiscated property and estates of any found guilty of breaking these laws, the Anglican parliament at Dublin endeavoured to reduce the Roman Catholics, the mass of the nation, to ignorance and to the state of general degradation which that implies. Roman Catholic bishops and priests were banished from the country, and heavy penalties imposed on any who harboured them. Orphans were handed to Protestant guardians, and intermarriage with Protestants was forbidden.

The lands of "rebels" were confiscated, sold to Protestant landlords, and the money went to the English Treasury. The estates of Roman Catholics who had taken no part in the rebellion were divided, on the death of the owner, amongst his sons, with the exception that Protestant heirs might succeed to the estates. Thus the estates of Roman Catholics either dwindled into smallholdings or passed into the hands of Protestant landlords. Many of these lived in England and were represented in Ireland by agents whose main function was to wring out of the tenants and the land a maximum revenue for the owner. Increasing poverty drove the Irish to depend more and more on the potato, which yields more food to the square yard than does any other plant except rice.

Of the Protestant minority only the Anglicans enjoyed the advantages of full political authority. By an Act passed at Westminster in 1704, the Dissenters who were passing from Scotland to Ireland in increasing numbers were excluded from all political rights, forbidden to hold any public office, or be magistrates.

While the English were willing that the Irish Anglicans should have every conceivable privilege, political, economic, or social, in Ireland itself, they were unwilling

DONNYBROOK FAIR

Seventeen-eighty-three is the date of this water-colour of Donnybrook Fair. The village which gave it its name is now part of the City of Dublin, but Donnybrook was famous for its annual fair for six hundred and fifty years. The first was held under licence from King John in 1204, the last in 1855. Almost all Ireland's medieval trade was carried on at a number of fairs or markets which had a much greater relative importance in Ireland than any but the largest of the English fairs. In the seventeenth century, for instance, in England the towns had become the chief centres of commerce and the town markets had largely supplanted the rural fair, but in Ireland the traditional form and importance of the fair continued for more than another hundred years.

to relinquish control over the Irish parliament or to permit any commercial or industrial development which might threaten their own. In Charles II's reign the Irish were forbidden to export cattle, sheep, or pigs (dead or alive), butter or cheese to England, or to trade with the colonies. Prevented from exporting sheep, the Irish turned to the sale of wool and then to woollen manufacture. English mercantilism could not tolerate this, and both the commerce and the industry were ruined by an Act of 1699, which prohibited the export of Irish wool or woollens to any country except England, and made that difficult by excessive import duties. Similar duties crushed the infant cotton industry, and in 1737 all exportation of Irish glass was forbidden. Except for the manufacture of linen little was left for the Irish except the provision trade, and this was checked in the reign of George III by increased import duties. As though this exploitation of the

Irish in the interests of English commerce were not enough, the Declaratory Act of 1719 reaffirmed the Poynings' Law, and formally asserted the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland over the head of the Irish parliament.

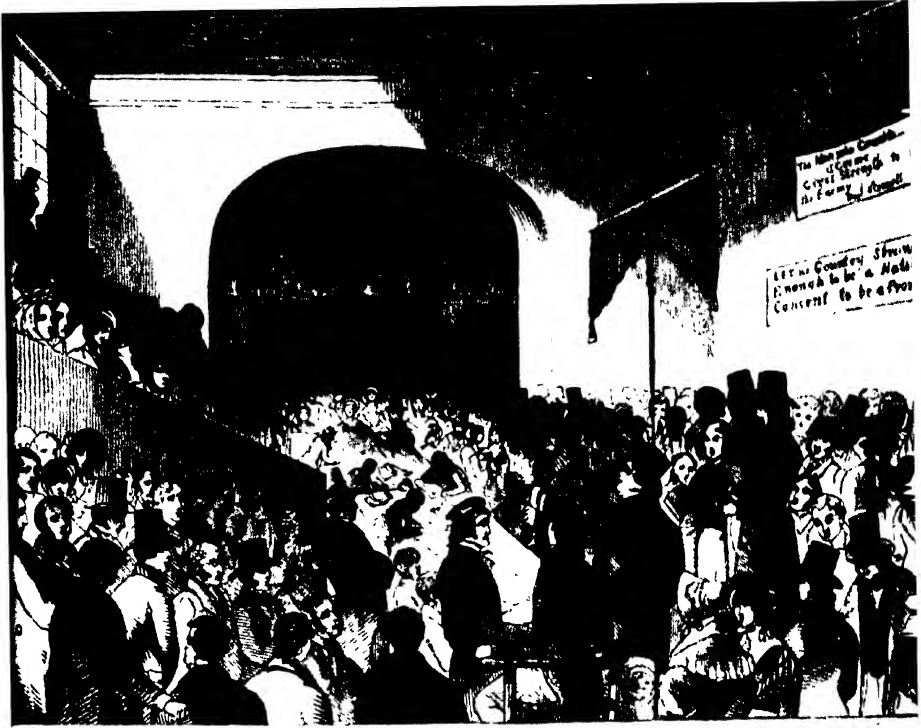
Notwithstanding these restrictions the Irish Protestants during this period were reasonably prosperous, and the building of Georgian houses began to give Dublin its modern appearance. But, in contrast, the Irish proper were plunged into incomparable destitution. The failure of the potato crop meant the deaths of hundreds of thousands. In the winter of 1740-41 nearly half a million are said to have died of hunger and disease.

The exploitation of the Irish merchants and industrialists, the corruption of the Irish parliament, and its subordination to the English Government, stirred even the Irish Protestants to revolt against the generally repressive nature of British rule.

THE TITHE PROCTOR CALLS

The long struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism was an important phase of the Irish travail. This nineteenth-century picture shows the proctor calling for tithes in a typical Irish homestead, supported by soldiers in uniform waiting outside the door. Tithes amounting to about half a million pounds a year were exacted for the upkeep of the State church, which represented a small minority of the people, for the burden of the tithes fell upon the peasants who were almost all Catholics. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, though it gave to the Irish people political and civil liberty irrespective of their faith, did little or nothing to lessen the hardship caused by the payment of tithes.





MEETING OF THE REPEAL ASSOCIATION

Almost as soon as the Act of Union was passed Irishmen were beginning to agitate for its repeal. Daniel O'Connell, who had been instrumental in securing the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 as a member of the British House of Commons for Clare, turned his attention after this brilliant success to the repeal of the Act of Union. He founded the Repeal Association and established a vast nation-wide organization. This picture shows the Repeal Association holding a meeting in the Corn Exchange, Dublin.

and to form the Protestant "Patriotic Party" under the leadership of Grattan, Flood, and de Burgh. Their opportunity came when the English troops in Ireland were withdrawn to fight against the American colonists, driven similarly to rebellion by the selfish and short-sighted mercantilist policy of Britain. On the excuse that Ireland was defenceless, the Patriots formed an army of volunteers, asked and obtained arms from England, and drilled themselves into efficiency. Thus strengthened, the Patriots demanded the independence of their parliament and the removal of the restrictions on their trade.

England was not in a condition to refuse either demand, and in 1782 "Grattan's

parliament" was granted legislative independence. The English Viceroy, however, remained in effective control, and "borough-mongering," with other forms of parliamentary corruption, remained unchanged.

The next stage in the developing national consciousness came from the Dissenters, whose exclusion from political rights drove them into closer sympathy with the Roman Catholics than with the privileged Anglicans. In 1791 was founded "The Society of the United Irishmen," led in the north by Wolfe Tone, and in the south by Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Its aim was to create "a brotherhood of affection and common rights and a union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion." The



THE POTATO FAMINE OF 1846

The "Hungry Forties" were not confined to Ireland, but Ireland because of its low standard of living suffered most of all the countries of Europe. Potato blight appeared first in North America in 1844, and quickly spread into the British Isles. In 1846 and 1847 the abundant potato harvest in Ireland was utterly ruined. Starvation faced hundreds of thousands of families. The result was a bitter exacerbation of the feeling against the Act of Union. The rise of the Ireland party was in part due to it. This party had broken away from O'Connell's Repeal Association (O'Connell died in 1847) and was the instigating force of the "Young Ireland" rebellion of 1848.

suggestion of "Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality" is unmistakable, and the French Revolution, which had been in progress for two years, helped to make articulate the new spirit of Irish nationalism. The French and Irish movements had little in common, but both could be described as popular rebellions against repressive governments. After 1793, when the French revolutionary government declared war on Britain, the Irish looked to France for help, and France looked to Ireland as a base of operations. In 1796 a French expedition failed to land. Two more sailed in 1798, the second led by Wolfe Tone, but the Irish rebellion had already been crushed, and Wolfe Tone escaped execution by committing suicide.

The events of '98 persuaded Pitt that the only solution to the Irish problem was the union of the two countries, as Scotland and England had been united a century earlier.

Such a union would mean that the Irish parliament, the "Patriot Parliament" which had so recently won its independence, would cease to exist; but bribery induced it to "sign its own death-warrant." On 1 January, 1801, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was created, and symbolized by the addition of the red saltire cross of St. Patrick to the "Union Jack."

Rather than solving Ireland's problems, the union made her general condition worse. Pitt had intended that the union should be accompanied by the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and his pledges had persuaded many Roman Catholics to support the idea of union. When George III refused to consent to the fulfilment of these pledges, Pitt resigned, but the promises were broken. While the condition of the Roman Catholics was unchanged, that of the Protestants was

worse than before, as they had lost their parliament, and with it their prestige and status. Except for representation in the British parliament their voice was silenced, and the new voice which began to speak with ever-increasing vigour was that of the Irish nation.

The welding of the Irish people into articulate unity was the work of one of Ireland's greatest leaders, Daniel O'Connell, who founded the Catholic Association. His first task was to awaken the people from the exhaustion of long despair, and, more specifically, to gain the fulfilment of Pitt's pledge of Catholic Emancipation. In 1828 O'Connell, though ineligible for election, was returned for County Clare. Already, in the House of Commons, sympathy with Roman Catholics had been increasing. Between 1791 and 1793 the penal laws against them were abolished in Great Britain and Ireland; since the union, Grattan, who had sat in the House as a Protestant Irish member, had agitated for full emancipation for the Catholics. The election of O'Connell, and the fear that civil war might follow from the refusal to recognize his election, finally decided the House. In 1829 Roman Catholics throughout the United Kingdom gained full political and civil liberty.

The most important direct result of the Emancipation Act was that the Irish members of the House of Commons represented for the first time the Irish nation. Under the untiring leadership of O'Connell a compact body of Irish Nationals began to demand the repeal of Pitt's Act of Union, and to give the English first-hand knowledge of the

sufferings of the mass of the Irish people. But little heed was given to Ireland's sufferings until the tragic failure of the potato crops of 1845 and 1846 brought about the climax of suffering which could no longer be ignored. Thousands died of hunger, thousands of disease; thousands more fled, to swell the already crowded slums of England's industrial towns, or to find new homes in America. And while the Irish starved in their scattered, stony, tiny holdings, the corn of the fertile valleys went to Britain, much of it to pay the landlords' rent.

As "Man cannot live by bread alone," so nationalism is not merely an economic matter. The Irish people were starving spiritually and culturally as they were dying of hunger. Centuries of poverty and an enforced ignorance meant that to thousands of the Irish the past was unknown; and the past included the great epic traditions of Gaelic mythology; it included, too, the time when Ireland was the centre of Western European culture. Inherent in Irish tradition was an aesthetic imagination, a love of the beautiful, dulled through the ugliness of want. To re-awaken the dormant mind and the tired spirit of the Irish people, to inspire them with a new pride based on the traditions of the past, and to fan a slender hope into an enthusiastic confidence, such were the aims of the Young Ireland movement which began to gain force in the early nineteenth century. Inevitably it was led by poets and writers, who had sufficient vision to see through the veil of Irish degradation the glory of the past and hope of the future.

Test Yourself

1. Make two sketch maps of Ireland. Indicate in one the physical features of the country; in the other, the regions of English and Scottish settlement. Compare both maps.
2. Account for the fact that the first successful movement for Irish independence was made by Protestants.
3. Why was the Anglo-Scottish Union so much more successful than the Anglo-Irish Union?
4. Give examples of the saying that "England's troubles have been Ireland's opportunities."

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CAPITALIZATION OF BRITISH FARMING

REFERENCE was made in an earlier chapter to the rapid change of rural interest, in seventeenth-century England, from pasturage to tillage. An Act of 1597, "for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage," had attributed English strength to the plough, and emphasized that the nation, to be independent of foreign neighbours, must be self-supporting. Behind this lay the discovery that rapidly growing towns and a developing industrial specialization provided markets for food which made the production of it a profitable pursuit. It was, moreover, part of the general mercantilist policy that the land should produce and export to its greatest possible capacity, from the same profit-making motive. Viewed from both these standpoints the old open-field or strip system of agriculture, which had fed the village community, was hopelessly inadequate. Farms had to be privately owned or held on long leases and enclosed before capital could be invested in them, before experimental methods could be tried, and before profits could be made.

By the end of the seventeenth century half the land was still unenclosed, still worked on the open-field system, with common waste land, common meadows and woodland, with one field left fallow each year, when its traditional crops had exhausted it. Over a quarter of the land was undeveloped moorland, undrained swamp or wild forest. Even as late as 1773, Arthur Young, who had travelled over the country, wrote: "You may draw a line from the north point of Derbyshire to the extremity of Northumberland of one hundred and fifty miles as the crow flies which shall be entirely across waste land, the exception of small cultivated spots very trifling."

The unenclosed villages presented other obstacles to development in addition to their obvious wastefulness. Commenting

on "the inconveniences and misfortunes which usually attend the open wastes and common fields," Edward Lawrence, in *The Duty and Office of a Land Steward* (1731 edition), declared "that the poor take their advantage to pilfer, and steal, and trespass; that the corn is subject to be spoiled by cattle, that stray out of the commons and highways adjacent; that the tenants or owners, if they would secure the fruits of their labours to themselves, are obliged either to keep exact time in sowing and reaping, or else to be subject to the damage and inconvenience that must attend the lazy practices of those who sow unseasonably, suffering their corn to stand to the beginning of winter, thereby hindering the whole parish from eating the herbage of the common field till the frosts have spoiled the most of it." Moreover, the customs of the village were rigidly fixed. Twelve jurymen, appointed annually, usually had sufficient authority to prevent the introduction of "new-fangled" crops, such as turnips or clover, and to conserve old methods such as the broadcasting of seed, a method which made the cleansing of the ground impossible.

In most villages there had long been signs that the old system was breaking down. Few peasants could live on their holdings and common rights, and most either worked as wage-earning labourers on the lord's demesne at harvests or threshing-time, or had begun to specialize in such village industries as those of the thatcher, the carpenter, wheelwright, carter, and the like. Many of these were finding their work done by superior specialists of near-by towns, and domestic industries such as spinning were soon to disappear with the invention of machinery. Similarly, old methods were proving hopelessly inadequate to meet an increasing demand. This was particularly true of the traditional



FARMING AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This view or "prospect" of Cambridge from the west shows the survival of the open-field system, and suggests also that at the time the engraving was made, about 1675, these fields in close proximity to the rapidly growing town were cultivated by urban labour, following a precedent set one thousand five hundred years before by the citizens of the Romano-British towns. The open-field system was the legacy of feudalism and only ceased to be a part of British agriculture when enclosure and the growth of the "capitalist" estates, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, swept away the last signs of the feudal system.

method of harvesting the wheat. Whereas barley and oats were scythed, wheat was cut with a sickle. A few stalks were grasped near the ears, and cut about halfway down, to leave a foot or so of stubble. So slow was this process that everyone who could be spared had to take a hand, and the universities closed for a long vacation to enable the undergraduates to hurry home to help in the harvest. After the fields had been gleaned by the women and children, the cattle were turned into the fields to live as best they could on the stubble, and to manure the fields. Thus no autumn sowing or planting of root crops was possible, no winter fodder could be provided for the cattle, most of which had to be slaughtered and pickled.

The survival of this medieval system had one advantage from the peasants' point of view: they had for the most part relative security; they were unlikely to starve, most were reasonably fed and clothed, and most were content. But from the economist's point of view, or from that of the capitalist who saw in the land a potential source of profit, the system was extrava-

gantly wasteful. The production of wheat was encouraged by government bounties for exported corn and by the imposition of duties on imported wheat. But no one would invest money in land which was not completely under the control of the investor. As a first step to their development, common holdings had to be converted into privately owned farms. This meant that the commons on which the peasants had traditional rights would have to be enclosed into private holdings, and that the arable fields of strips would have to be consolidated into privately owned and enclosed farms.

Enclosure, which Kett had resisted in the Tudor age, proceeded rapidly under the Stuarts and early Georges, particularly in Kent, Essex, and Sussex, but in the eighteenth century the process became a national policy. In the eighteenth century 1,631 Enclosure Acts were passed, involving the enclosure of nearly three and a half million acres. The East Riding of York, the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk, and the eastern Midlands generally were the regions most affected. The moors and moun-



MAY FAIR, 1716

In the towns the May Day celebrations often took the form of an annual fair, an observance perpetuated in many place-names, such as London's Mayfair. In the larger towns the Maypole was a permanent fixture as opposed to the annually erected poles in the countryside. Many urban May fairs undoubtedly overstepped the limits of order and propriety. So, although a number of them were reintroduced after the Restoration, some failed to survive the vigorous efforts that were made to stamp them out during the Commonwealth period.

tains of the north and west were not a tempting economic proposition.

The process was a rather arbitrary one. The lord or other local gentry would petition parliament for an enclosure bill. Before 1774 it was not even necessary for such petitioners to inform their neighbours that they were proposing to parcel out their lands; but after that date a copy of the petition had to be fixed to the door of the church. The bill having been read twice was referred to a committee which the member interested could usually pack with his friends and supporters. There was occasional opposition, but in general there was none to voice the protests of commoners too ignorant or too distant to voice their own. They had the right, however, to petition parliament against the enclosure of their lands, and the right was occasionally exercised. In 1767 the small farmers of Stanwell, Middlesex, successfully petitioned

for the rejection of a bill for the enclosure of common lands of their parish. A similar petition in 1797 against the enclosure of the fields and commons of Raunds in Northamptonshire expresses the fears of the small proprietors: "The petitioners beg leave to represent to the House that, under the pretence of improving lands in the same parish, the cottagers and other persons entitled to right of common on the lands intended to be enclosed, will be deprived of an inestimable privilege, which they now enjoy, of turning a certain number of cows, calves, and sheep, on and over the said lands; a privilege which enables them not only to maintain themselves and their families in the depth of winter, when they cannot, even for their money, obtain from the occupiers of other lands the smallest portion of milk or whey for such necessary purpose, but in addition to this, they can now supply the grazier

with young or lean stock at a reasonable price, to fatten and bring to market at a more moderate rate for general consumption, which they conceive to be the most rational and effectual way of establishing public plenty and cheapness of provision."

There was little sympathy for this point of view, or for the grievances of the peasants and small proprietors. Most of the enclosure bills were passed without opposition, and commissioners appointed by parliament would proceed to the village to carry out the enclosure. The small proprietor had no influence in the choice of the commissioners, and, in the words of Arthur Young, "of consequence, they have seldom any great inducement to be attentive to his interest." The whole of the lands of a village about to be enclosed would be divided into a number of compact farms,

each of which had to be fenced or hedged, drained, and "flatted"; that is, flattened by the reduction of the ridges, balks, and other inequalities of the strip system. Theoretically each man who had worked strips of arable, or who had claims to any of the land, could claim an equivalent acreage under the new division; but the expenses of the commissioners, the cost of enclosure, the desire to create as large farms as possible and the relative powerlessness of the small proprietors, combined to lead to the absorption of the poorer man's strips into the large farms. A monetary compensation, when such was received, did nothing to make up for the loss of arable strips which had been a permanent source of food.

While enclosure, therefore, provided the opportunity for revolutionary improvements in agricultural method, for vastly

RAISING A MAYPOLE

In Tudor times and earlier, May Day was a great public holiday. All classes of the people were up with the dawn and went a'Maying. They brought back branches of trees and flowers in triumph to the towns and villages. They walked in procession, of which the centre-piece was the Maypole decked out with ribbons and wreaths. Maypoles were forbidden by parliament in 1644, but after the Restoration of Charles II the ceremonies came back into favour.



increased production, and for the investment of capital in the land, it created also a new and landless class of rural workers, entirely dependent on the wage-earning capacity. It is desirable to examine both these consequences separately.

Probably the most far-reaching of the changes in agricultural procedure was the introduction of new crops, which, by being planted in rotation with the old cereal crops, allowed the ground to recover, thereby avoiding the wastage of leaving a field fallow for a season. The new crops were of two kinds, clover and other grasses, and root crops. In 1645, Sir Richard Weston, who had been English Ambassador to James I's German son-in-law, Frederick Elector Palatine, published a *Discourse on the Husbandry of Brabant and Flanders*, advocated the introduction of "the great clover," and explained the advantages of planting it in rotation with corn. "Being well sown," he wrote, "it will last five years; the land when ploughed will yield, three or four years together, rich crops of wheat, and after that a crop of oats, with which clover seed is to be sown again." Other writers followed: Walter Blith's *Improver Improved* advocated the rotation of clover and turnips with the

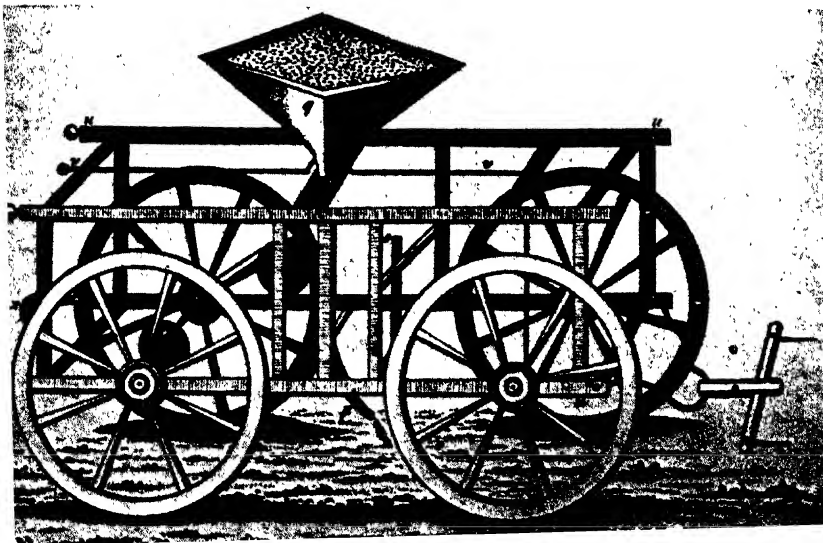
cereal crops, and urged the introduction of better methods of draining and manuring.

Except in a few isolated districts, however, little notice was taken until the eighteenth century, when two of the most influential pioneers, Charles, Second Viscount Townshend, and Jethro Tull, began their extensive experiments. Townshend, a wealthy Norfolk squire and brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole, turned from political life to the development of his Norfolk estates. His enthusiasm for the success of his experiments with root crops gained for him the nickname of "Turnip" Townshend; it led also to the gradual recognition of the value of turnips and other roots as field crops. Townshend avoided the wastage of leaving land in fallow by adopting a four-fold rotation of crops, which became known as "The Norfolk Rotation." The sequence of crops planted in any field was barley, turnips, wheat, clover.

Townshend adopted also the improved method of planting which Jethro Tull had introduced, and which made hoeing possible. Tull, a Berkshire farmer, after studying for the bar, turned to the farming of his father's land at Howberry, near Wallingford, in 1699 and, two years later, invented his machine drill. This made it

A DRILL-PLOUGH

Here we see one of the earliest inventions which changed the whole nature of farming technique and culminated in the introduction of mechanized farming on a large scale. The drill-plough illustrated dates from the end of the eighteenth century. Crude though this "machine" is as an effective means of drilling, its use marked a breakaway from tradition.



possible to sow plants in straight lines or drills, so that the soil round the roots could be broken up from time to time by hoeing. This had been impossible when the seeds were broadcast. Tull, after studying the habits of plant life, concluded that plants derive their nourishment from little particles of the soil, and that a thorough "pulverization" of the soil was necessary before planting and during growth in order to bring the greatest possible number of particles to the fibres of the roots. To illustrate the truth of his theory, or at least the advantage of his practice, Tull produced thirteen successive crops of wheat on the same field without manuring it. The work of manure, Tull affirmed, is to "divide the terrestrial matter which affords nutriment to the mouths of vegetable roots."

In 1731, Tull published his *Horse-Hoeing Industry*, which he followed, two years later, with *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry, or an Essay on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation*. In these he described and explained his practice. The land was divided into ridges some five or six feet apart, and the seeds were drilled at shorter intervals along the central part of the ridges. Thus a wide interval was left for horse-hoeing between the ridges, and a space for hand-hoeing was left between the rows of seeds.

Introduction of Root Crops

The introduction of root crops and clover increased the amount of arable land under annual cultivation by more than 50 per cent, for the area covered by three fields was cultivated instead of that covered by two, and the old wasteful balks which had separated the strips had been ploughed in. But this was not the only advantage. For the first time in the history of British farming adequate winter food was being provided for the cattle and the sheep. This meant that, for the first time, fresh meat would be available during the winter, and that the diseases such as scurvy, which had scourged the population through the excess of salt in its diet, could now be eliminated. The idea of breeding cattle, sheep, and pigs specifically for the production of meat was the next possibility which attracted the experimental interest of the new type of farmer. The great pioneer in this branch of farming was Robert Bakewell.

Bakewell had inherited a farm of over four hundred acres in Dishley, Leicestershire, and he decided to breed animals such as had never been seen before. His success attracted an almost world-wide interest. "You can get beasts to weigh where you want them to weigh," he said. His method was to select animals, usually of the same strain, but developed in the parts he considered most valuable. He spared neither distance nor expense to provide the stock he fancied; he diverted the water of the Soar to make a canal through his farm, adopted the newest methods of drainage and irrigation, and in every way conceivable made his farm a model one. Bakewell entertained visitors from all over the world, from Russian princes to rural sightseers, displaying on his walls skeletons of his most famous animals and various joints which he had preserved in pickle. He made an enormous income from the more famous of the bulls, rams, and stallions which he hired out for breeding purposes, one bull alone bringing in £800 a year.

"Muck is the Mother of Money"

That the new methods of farming justified the investment of large sums of money was proved by Thomas William Coke of Holkham, Earl of Leicester. A great part of the Holkham estates was salt marsh, which had only recently been reclaimed from the sea. The rest was little more than a rabbit warren, so poorly stocked that "two rabbits fought for a blade of grass." When Coke took over his three thousand acres, no wheat was grown, no cattle could be maintained, and about eight hundred sheep kept themselves miserably alive. The fundamental trouble was the poor sandy nature of the soil, and Coke determined to enrich it by introducing cattle. His principle, summarized in his own words, was that "Muck is the mother of money."

It was inevitable that Coke should have gone to Bakewell for advice, and at the Dishley farm Coke was taught how to judge cattle and sheep. Coke extended the principle of selective culture to plants, and children were sent to scour the countryside for plants to match the clovers and grasses with which he supplied them. Swedish turnips and potatoes were added to his root crops, Tull's methods of drilling and hoeing

were adopted, and money was spent lavishly on every kind of improvement. To encourage his tenants he granted them long leases, so that they would not be afraid to invest money in their holdings; but clauses were inserted in the leases which made such improvements obligatory. The rents from his estates increased during his lifetime from £2,200 to £20,000 a year.

The annual sheep-shearings were converted into agricultural shows, with exhibitions and prizes, and were attended by visitors from Europe and even from America. Coke kept open house, his friends arriving without invitation, departing without formality, and, after lingering as long as they would at the dining table, would leave at their pleasure to take tea or coffee in an adjoining room to which the ladies had withdrawn. It was at such gatherings that knowledge of successful experiments

was exchanged and extended. Two such experiments, for which Coke was responsible, were the introduction of bone fertilization and of field-cake. It was at such gatherings, too, that the profit-making possibilities of large-scale farming were demonstrated. Even George III spent part of his time as "Farmer George." He sold his stock at auctions, wrote articles for *The Agricultural Magazine* under the pseudonym of "Ralph Robinson," and introduced the famous Spanish breed of wool-producing sheep known as "merino." It was from the royal farm at Windsor that the first merino sheep were sent to Australia.

Before the end of the century the way had been prepared for the enormous and artificial stimulus given to British agriculture by the Napoleonic War. With war conditions, and, in 1797, the fear of invasion, prices soared and the possibility of

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COTTAGE INTERIOR

This painting by Briggs (1755-1828), signed and dated 1793, illustrates vividly how little many facets of life in the countryside have changed during the last hundred and fifty years or more. Many cottages of this type are inhabited at the present day, though in most cases a fireplace has been inserted in the open grate, and, in general, coal has taken the place of wood as fuel. Notice the modern-looking tea set out on the three-legged occasional table.





WOBURN SHEEP-SHEARING

Thomas William Coke, Earl of Leicester, was one of the great pioneers of modern farming. His development of the Holkham estates in Norfolk provided a model followed by many of the great English landowners towards the end of the eighteenth century. One of the institutions at Holkham Hall was the annual sheep-shearing, which was converted into an agricultural show at which prizes were given for the finest animals. Visitors to this event were invited from many other counties. The combination of sheep-shearing and agricultural show was adopted among others by the Dukes of Bedford on their Woburn estate. The painting reproduced above shows one of these exhibitions in progress, with sheep-shearing shown in the right foreground. The fine farm buildings, stables and sheds which mark the boundaries of the show-ground were erected by Francis, Duke of Bedford, in 1801.

making big profits stirred the imagination of investors. More land was to be reclaimed from forest and fen, more commons were to be enclosed, more pasture was to be brought under the plough, and existing farms were to be improved. The increased demand for land, together with the reduction in the purchasing power of money characteristic of a war period, sent the price of wheat higher and higher. In 1795 the price was already £4 1s. 6d. a quarter; in 1812 it had reached £6 6s. 6d. a quarter. What this meant to the worker will be discussed later, but some idea may be deduced from the attempt made in 1795 to relate the wages of agricultural labour to the price of bread, the cost of three loaves being regarded as the standard wage for a week's work.

The immediate point, however, is that the huge profits made by the farmers apparently justified the vast sums invested in the land, and Napoleon has been called "the patron saint of British farming." That the war-stimulus to production was only a temporary and artificial one was forgotten or ignored. For the moment, farming was a profitable and flourishing activity. Before we turn to examine the other side of the picture it is desirable to glance at the rapid development of Scottish agriculture which took place during the same period.

In the seventeenth century, when the Stuart sovereigns were ruling Scotland and England, rural conditions in Scotland were still very primitive. A tourist in the eastern counties, in 1660, wrote of the Scots that



FARMYARD SCENE

Drawn about 1795, this illustration from a book demonstrates in much the same way as the picture reproduced on page 107 that the pattern of English farming was by then finally set. A hundred years before, half the land had been still worked on the open-field system. In the course of the eighteenth century almost all the common holdings had been converted into privately-owned farms, nearly three and a half million acres being affected. Here again we see all the signs of mixed farming with corn stacks, pigs and poultry of all kinds. The fields and crops were generally the responsibility of the farmer, the poultry that of his wife.

they had neither good bread, cheese, nor drink. Of their butter he wrote: "One would wonder how they could contrive to make it so bad," that "they use much pottage made of coal-wort, which they call karl, sometimes broth of decorticated barley." This meant the barley from which the husks had been taken. Ray, as the tourist was named, added: "The ordinary country houses are pitiful cots, built of stone and covered with turfs, having in them but one room, many of them no chimneys, the windows very small holes and not glazed." Barley and oats were the main crops, produced on the scattered settlements in valleys or on the coastal plain. At the end of the century the farms were still divided into an "infield" and an "outfield," with little use of fallow. Enclosure was rare, tenancy was insecure, and

improvement was unlikely through lack of capital, lack of incentive, and lack of knowledge.

One early eighteenth-century writer, John Hamilton, Second Lord Belhaven, in his *Advice to the Farmers in East Lothian*, observed, when describing the advantages of enclosure: "You will gain much more labour from your servants, a great part of whose time was taken up gathering thistles and other garbage for their horses to feed upon in their stables; and thereby the great trampling and pulling up and other destruction of the corns while they are yet tender will be prevented." From his book it appears that rent was still paid in corn, and that the largest farms employed only two ploughs. For such farms the rent varied from four to six "chalders of victuals" according to the yield of the ground. A

"chalder" or "chaldron" is a dry measure equal to nearly eight imperial quarters when applied to wheat or flour, but to eleven and a half quarters of other grain or of vegetables.

The first sign of a growing interest in Scottish farming was the formation of a "Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland," founded in 1723. During the twenty years of its existence the society, which attracted some three hundred members, brought about very considerable improvements. Turnips, potatoes, flax, hemp, and a variety of grasses were cultivated; lands were drained, and "corn grew yearly where it was never known to grow before." Summer fallow replaced the practice of so exhausting a field that it could produce no more than two seeds for one, and the idea of rotation was introduced.

The construction of serviceable roads where before there had been but tracks made possible the sale of produce to outside districts, and provided in consequence an incentive to produce for profit. Enclosure and capitalization followed inevitably, and an Act of 1770 made easier the sale of land and the granting of long leases. Most of the Scottish farms were soon let on leases of from twenty to thirty years, a period long enough to afford security to tenants and to encourage them to effect improvements involving the investment of capital. With the impetus to farming given by the Napoleonic wars the development of Scottish

agriculture in this period is said to have been "probably without parallel in the history of any other country."

While enclosure made possible the rapid development of agricultural method and production, and provided enormous profits for the farmers and others who had invested money in the land, its immediate effect on the peasant labourers was to reduce them to dependence on their wage-earning capacity at a time when labour was more plentiful than work, wages were low, food costs high, and the relation between landlord and worker undergoing rapid and revolutionary change. Many were reduced to beggary and starvation, and many drifted to the towns to swell the ranks of a growing proletariat.

The visible effects of the changed conditions in rural life were symbolic. The old self-sufficing village had disappeared; the village carpenter, tailor, brewer, or saddler was no longer indispensable, for the work done by such rural craftsmen could be done much better by the craftsmen of the near-by towns, which were now easily reached by the new macadamized roads. Neat hedges marked the boundaries of farm and field; what had been open and public "common" was now privately owned and fenced; much of it was now arable land. Previously open woodlands were now fenced, controlled by gamekeepers and secured by man-traps. The land which before had fed the peasant was hedged and the gate was padlocked.

HORSE-DRAWN PLOUGH

Although several new types of plough, including the first iron plough, were introduced in the eighteenth century, ploughs of traditional design were still widely employed. This drawing, taken from Pyne's Microcosm of Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, published in 1803 (see page 119), shows a traditional single-wheeled plough drawn by a team of four horses. Oxen, commonly employed in medieval times for ploughing, were now rarely seen.



This social revolution affected more than the rural labourers. The holders of small farms were increasingly unable to compete with the wealthy farmers. Moreover, the rapid development of mechanized spinning in the towns took from the country workers what had been a profitable domestic industry. In the north and west particularly the large farms began to absorb the smaller ones, and families which had for a time held on to their land were gradually depressed to wage-earning dependence.

Inadequate Parochial Relief

Dependence on wages or on relief is, of course, a characteristic of a capitalistic society, and was bad in this instance only because wages were, in general, so low that full employment did not imply economic security for the family, and the outworn system of parochial relief was completely inadequate to meet the new conditions. The idea that workers should be paid enough to enable them to buy freely did not seem important to the mercantilist who thought of foreign markets as the only source of a national profit in gold. To the average farmer, who was concerned more with his own profits than with mercantilist theory, the lower the wages he paid the higher in proportion did he believe his profits would be. In an age of individual competition and the "survival of the fittest," poverty and unemployment were accepted as the consequences of failure, of inefficiency, of laziness, or thriftlessness. Moreover, the obvious need for enclosure silenced most of those who might have voiced the peasants' plight.

As the century developed, wages dropped to so low a level that a man could be fully employed and yet unable to buy for himself and his family the barest necessities. Eden, the writer of *The State of the Poor*, 1797, contrasts the expenses and the incomes of some of the rural workers at the end of the century. He quotes, for example, the budget of a widowed Oxfordshire labourer who earned, by carting and digging, 8s. a week and 9s. for one week in the summer. The addition of 2s. a week granted by the parish toward the maintenance of his three children brought his annual income up to £26 1s. Of this he spent £3 for rent, £7 10s. for clothing (one of his children

being clothed but not fed by a charity school), £13 13s. for bread, £6 10s. on other food, and 18s. on soap and candles. This left him £5 10s. in debt! At the end of the century the amount which this worker spent on bread would not, on the average, have been enough to buy two loaves a week, and this represented more than half of the total income, of which a fifth was provided in the form of parochial relief. A Huntingdon labourer with four children earned only 7s. 3d. a week, and his wife earned 1s. 2d. To this the parish added 1s. They could not afford meat, cheese, or milk, and half the miserable income had to be spent on barley meal. To buy fuel was, of course, out of the question, and many could not afford to buy even the raw materials from which to make clothing. The usual remedies suggested for this deplorable poverty, of which Eden said that no labourer could at present maintain himself, wife, and children, were that the peasants should eat less, or that they should learn to live "prudently" upon roots, cabbage, or other herbage, as, so they were told, did the French.

Hunger Preferred to the Workhouse

There were, of course, exceptions to this grim impoverishment. Not all landlords and farmers were equally heartless, and many parishes did much to try to relieve the local distress. Some districts were better off than others, and some peasants had allotments of land. But in general, throughout widespread rural areas, the conditions were such as William Huntingdon described, when, writing of his childhood, he said: "Suffering with hunger, cold, and almost nakedness so embittered my life in my childhood that I often wished secretly that I had been a brute, for then I could have filled my belly in the fields."

Even this to most people seemed better than the workhouses which could be opened or erected by the parochial vestries without a special Act of parliament after 1723. In them were gathered the blind and the lame, the widow and the orphan, the idiot and the senile. The death-rate was high, for they were fever-ridden and dirty in the worst cases, and comfortless at the best. The food was unvaried and poor, though often better than the labourer could afford. The worst evil was derived from the practice of con-



RURAL LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This picture of a harvest scene is taken from a painting on a jug of cream-coloured earthenware. It is dated to the second half of the eighteenth century and is at present in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its interest apart from its artistic merit is in the light it throws on the continuous development of English country life and agriculture. Here the harvest is being brought in on a high-piled wagon drawn by horses and stacked in a rick of the shape current from Tudor times onwards. A windmill, (together with water power) still one of England's two chief sources of mechanical energy, is in the background. In the foreground a fiddler plays for the village people to dance in honour of the completion of another successful harvest in the time-honoured tradition of "Merrie England." The farmhouse on the left shows a marked development as compared with the small farmhouses of Elizabethan times. It is, however, a modest timber building of a type which has rarely survived to the present day. It shows a strong leaning to the traditional English type of architecture rather than, as might have been expected, similarity to the Georgian houses which were then being built in the towns.



HARVESTING ABOUT 1800

Drawn in 1804, this picture from Pyne's Microcosm demonstrates the remarkable conservatism of English farming methods. The method of harvesting depicted here would have been as true of 1900 as of 1800, and indeed of 1950 on some remote farms which are too small to have benefited by mechanization. Hand-sickles and scythes were used to cut the corn close to the ground. The corn was then tied into sheaves and left to dry, afterwards being gathered by hand and carried from the harvest field on a horse-drawn wagon.

tracting with someone "for the lodging, keeping, maintaining, and employing all such poor in their respective parishes . . . and to take the benefit of the work, labour, and service of any such persons." This clause of the Act of 1723, which empowered the churchwardens and overseers to farm out the responsibility of caring for the poor to some person or persons willing to undertake it as a possible source of profit, was open to obvious and grave abuse. The contractor was paid so much by the parish, and the custom of referring to this as "the bargain" was suggestive. The arrangement was simply a matter of business. Obviously an inmate who could not produce anything for sale was a mere expense, a loss, and any such must have been very feeble indeed not to have some manner of work thrust on them. It is possible that some workhouses were run humanely, but the system of farming the care of the poor to contractors who accepted the responsibility for a profit-making motive inevitably made for the worst possible conditions, and explains why so many preferred partial starvation to the workhouse.

Another possible way of avoiding partial starvation was that of eking out the miserable larder by poaching. But man-traps,

which might maim for life or even kill, combined with penalties of the savage Game Laws to make poaching dangerous. After 1770 poachers could be imprisoned, and publicly whipped for a second offence.

There can, then, be no doubt that the condition of the rural workers, after enclosure, was in the main shockingly bad. Arthur Young, though one of the most earnest advocates of the economic advantages of enclosure, was disturbed by the conditions of poverty which resulted from it. In his *Inquiry Into the Propriety of Applying Wastes for the Better Maintenance and Support of the Poor* (1801), he wrote:

The poor look to facts, not meanings, and the fact is that by nineteen enclosure bills in twenty they are injured, in some cases grossly injured. . . . What is it to the poor man to be told that the Houses of Parliament are extremely tender of property, while the father of the family is forced to sell his cow and his land because the one is not competent to the other; and being deprived of the only motive to industry, squanders the money, contracts bad habits, enlists as a soldier, and leaves the wife and children to the parish? If enclosures were beneficial to the poor, rates would not rise as in other parishes after an act to enclose. The poor in these parishes may say, and with truth: "Parlia-

ment may be tender of property; all I know is, I had a cow, and act of parliament has taken it from me." And thousands may make this speech with truth.

Even where conditions were not much worse than they had been before enclosure, the rural peasantry, as such, disappeared: and, as Trevelyan has pointed out:

"When in the following era, democracy, armed with new strength in the cities, turned a hard, sharp eye on the 'agricultural interest,' it felt an instinctive dislike for an aristocratic reserve. There was no longer in England, as there was in other European countries, a peasantry to plead for protection. And so, at the end of Victoria's reign, when the pinch of foreign competition came at last, the urban electorate would listen to no proposal to save British agriculture from ruin."

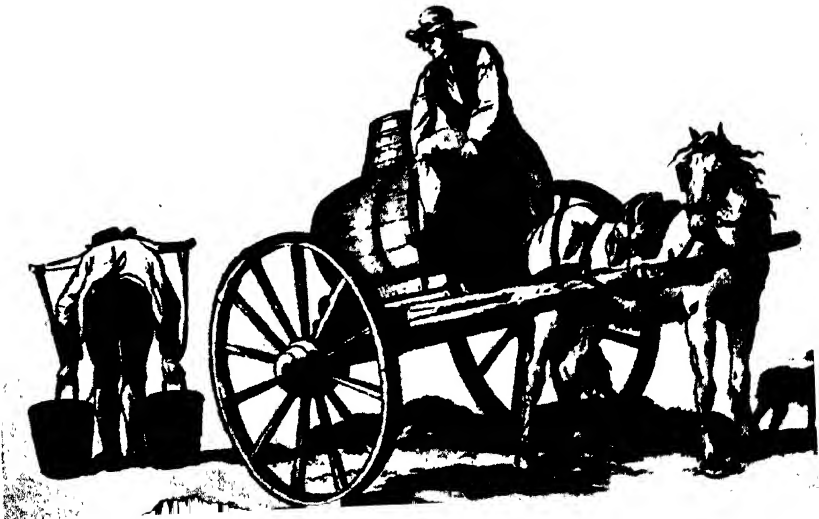
Eighteenth-century enclosure merely hastened this process of social change which had long ago begun, the change from a condition of dependence on one's own share of a communal effort to feed a village to one of dependence on wage-earning employment. The reflection that the harmful

effects of this social revolution lay primarily in the lowness of wages was expressed in the famous Speenhamland "Act" of 1795. As the significance of this is sometimes misunderstood, rather detailed reference to it is desirable.

On 4 May, 1795, a public advertisement appeared in the *Reading Mercury*, summoning to a general meeting the Justices of the County together with "several discreet persons, to limit, direct, and appoint the wages of day labourers." The meeting took place at the Pelican Inn in Speenhamland, Berkshire. After unanimously resolving "that the present state of the Poor does require further assistance than has been generally given them," the Magistrates very earnestly recommended to the farmers and others throughout the county to increase the pay of their labourers in proportion to the price of provisions. They then unanimously resolved that they would, in their several divisions, "make the following calculations and allowances for relief of all poor and industrious men and their families, who, to the satisfaction of the Justices of

WATER-CART AND CARRIER

This drawing is from Pyne's Microcosm of Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture and Manufactures of Great Britain, published in 1803, which is one of the few reliable "source books" on farm work and farm implements at the end of the eighteenth century. The picture below shows a water-cart and carrier of the time. Although the eighteenth century with its many acts of enclosure produced an advance in the technique of agriculture, this was not accompanied by development in spheres regarded today as essential to good farming. No real effort had been made in some areas, to achieve a reliable water supply.



their Parish, shall endeavour (as far as they are able) for their own support and maintenance."

The basis of the calculation was the cost of a "Gallon Loaf of Second Flour, weighing 8 lb. 11 oz." When this cost 1s., then "every poor and industrious man shall have for his own support 3s. weekly, either produced by his own or his family's labour, or an allowance from the poor rates, and for the support of his wife and every other of his family, 1s. 6d." As the price of bread fluctuated, so, it was recommended, should the labourers' income, whether derived from wages or from parochial relief, so that such income should conform to the standard of the cost of three gallon loaves for the man, and one and a half for every other member of his family.

Though they did not include it in the official report of the meeting, the magistrates further recommended parochial overseers to "grow potatoes, setting poor people to work and offering them one-third or one-fourth of the crop, and to sell at 1s. a bushel; also to get in a stock of peat, faggots, furze, etc., in the summer and to sell at a loss in the winter." The main hope of the meeting was undoubtedly that the farmers of Berkshire would pay their labourers a wage equivalent to the standard proposed. The hope was, however, expressed only in the form of a recommendation, and farmers who did not comply were assured by the resolution of the magistrates that the wages of their workers would be brought up by parochial relief to the standard proposed. Moreover, the standard proposed remained

TRIAL FOR THE DUNMOW FLITCH

The medieval priory of Augustinian Canons at Little Dunmow, Essex, instituted the custom of presenting a flitch of bacon to any couple who could prove that they had spent a year and a day of married life without quarrelling and without repenting of their marriage. In the sixteenth century in place of the monastic judges a jury of six bachelors and six unmarried girls appears for the first time. In this old print the jury is seen in the background with contestants for the flitch or gammon taking the oath. The custom was revived in 1855 at the instigation of Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist and historian.



extremely low, and could not possibly have left any margin for the purchase of anything beyond the barest necessities. The harmful principle of looking to the rates to make up wages continued and, indeed, spread, extending the miserable condition in which full employment did not imply economic independence.

In many parishes most of the workers had not even that degree of partial independence suggested by full employment, and were dependent on casual work. When they applied for relief they were sent by the overseers from house to house asking for work. If employed in this way they received in some parishes sixpence a day from the householder and an additional fourpence from the parish. In other parishes the householder paid what he wished and the worker was dependent on what extra the overseers allowed him as relief. This practice was known as "being on the rounds." Writing in 1797 of the parish of Winslow in Buckinghamshire, Eden, in *The State of the Poor*, said: "There seems to be a great want of employment: most of the labourers are (as it is termed) on the Rounds; that is, they go to work from one house to another round the parish. They are wholly paid by the parish, unless the householders choose to employ them, and from these circumstances labourers often become very lazy and imperious. Children, above ten years old, are put on the rounds, and receive from the parish from 1s. 6d. to 3s. per week." In some districts, as in Bedfordshire, farmers or householders who employed the "Roundsmen" received as a repayment from the parish a portion and sometimes the whole of the amount they had paid in wages to these casual employees.

Increase in Population

One of the reasons for this excess of labour over available work was the rapid growth of the population in the eighteenth century, an increase which took place just when the changed conditions of farming made so many more labourers dependent on wage-earning employment. At the beginning of the century the population of England and Wales was about five and a half millions; at the end of the century it had risen to nine millions, an increase of 64 per cent in three generations. Of many



IN THE DAIRY

The description of this eighteenth-century print reads: "The honest ancient English farmer's wife in the dairy at her proper employ." At a period when mixed farming was on the increase and a rapidly-growing population provided a ready market for dairy produce, the dairy was becoming a more and more important part of the farm. Like the care of poultry, supervision of the dairy was the duty of the farmer's wife.

factors which contributed to this astonishing increase the most influential was the reduction in the death-rate, or, in other words, the fact that people lived longer. In some towns, early in the century, so many children died, as did all of Queen Anne's eleven children, that the average age to which people lived was under sixteen years. Pestilential scourges, particularly smallpox, medical and surgical ignorance, insanitary conditions, inadequate freshwater supplies, lack of fresh meat in winter, the drinking of cheap gin, were some of the factors which were responsible for this low expectation of life. Amongst the poor the conditions of poverty and the state of workhouses, such as have been described, have to be added.

Amongst wealthier families the reasons for a greater chance of survival were im-

proved food, cleaner conditions, and improved medical knowledge and skill. The provision of winter fodder for cattle and sheep made fresh meat available during the winter months, so that fewer people died of scurvy which excess of salted meat induced. In passing, it is interesting to note that one of the reasons for the first naval mutiny of 1797 was the Government's failure to provide citrous fruits which had been shown, on Captain Cook's voyages, to reduce death from scurvy on board ship, where most of the meat had to be salted. Food, too, was more plentiful and more varied, for those who could afford to take advantage of the new farming methods and the improved transport.

Improved Medical Knowledge

The greatest factor, however, was improved medical knowledge. In the early part of the century the prevailing ignorance and superstition were revealed nowhere more clearly than in the general reliance on quack remedies. On one occasion £5,000 was paid by the Government to a woman for the prescriptions of three remedies she claimed to have discovered. One of these was a concoction of snails and calcined egg-shells; another was a pill which included amongst its ingredients calcined snails, hips and haws, burnt to blackness and mixed with soap and honey. People hoped to relieve asthma by drinking wine in which woodlice had been steeped. To restore memory small pieces of swallows' hearts were eaten, and to cure sore eyes powdered hen-dung was applied. For feverous conditions bleeding was the standard remedy, and an operation, if the patient survived at all, was, in an age of general uncleanness and ignorance of sterilization, almost inevitably followed by gangrene.

Before the end of the century vast strides had been made. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose young son had been inoculated during an outbreak of smallpox in Constantinople, on her return to England interested the Royal Family in the process. George I's daughters, aged eleven and nine respectively, were both inoculated after a series of experiments on criminals and "charity children" had proved successful. An Inoculation Hospital was founded in

London, and gradually the ravages of a disease of which three thousand people died in 1709 were checked, though one in thirteen continued to die of smallpox until Jenner's discovery of vaccination in 1798.

Surgery, which had been the trade of the barber-apothecary, or of "Any Man of Parts who did but buy a Lancet, Forceps, and Saw, and talk a little of Contusions, Fractures, Compress and Bandage," was turned into something more scientific and responsible by the influence of such Scottish surgeons as Smellie, Pringle, and the Hamiltons. Over a hundred hospitals were founded in the country during the century, by voluntary effort, and in London St. George's, Guy's, the Westminster, the London, and the Middlesex were founded between 1720 and 1754. Improved midwifery, in which Smellie specialized, rapidly reduced the death-rate of mothers and infants, and a Foundling Hospital, opened in 1741, marked a change in attitude to bastard children, so many of which had been left to die, abandoned in street or garret.

"You Offer No Motives"

Very few of these changes in improved conditions could have benefited the working population of the rural districts during a period of transition in which greater numbers meant only greater consumers and lack of work. The complaisant characteristic of a capitalistic age, that it was "every man for himself," had to give place to a more humane outlook before there could be much change in the wretched conditions of poverty and distress which were the outcome of war conditions, starvation wages, an outworn system of relief, unemployment, and the loss of land and common rights. An oft-quoted paragraph from Arthur Young's *Inquiry Into the Propriety of Applying Wastes* may well be given here. "Go to an alehouse kitchen of an old enclosed country, and there you will see the origin of poverty and poor rates. For what are they to be sober? For whom are they to save? (Such are their questions.) For the parish? If I am diligent, shall I have leave to build a cottage? If I am sober, shall I have land for a cow? If I am frugal, shall I have half an acre of potatoes? You offer no motives; you have nothing



IN A COUNTRY INN

Except for the difference in the dress and the excessive number of the dogs (which may be due in part to the artist's licence), this scene in a country inn towards the end of the eighteenth century might well pass for a similar scene in the twentieth century. Though there had been inns in England from the thirteenth century or earlier for the reception of travellers or pilgrims, the English inn as we know it today did not begin to take its modern shape until Tudor times. Throughout its history it has been an informal village meeting place.

but a parish officer and a workhouse! Bring me another pot."

During the last years of the war the gulf between farmer and labourer widened. The open fields and commons had not yet completely disappeared, and there were still yeomen farmers. Even as late as 1831 there were 135,022 small occupiers who employed no hired labour. But England had already in effect become a land of extensive farms, owned by agricultural capitalists to whom a labourer had no human significance. Dismissal from employment or eviction from his cottage could happen to a labourer at any time, as his employer willed, and it was no concern to the employer who exercised these "rights" as to what happened to the labourer afterwards. The old relationship between squire and peasant, with its implied mutual obligations, had given way to a new relationship, a purely impersonal one dependent on the principle that labour,

like goods, was something to be bought in the cheapest market. Thus on the one hand was a rapidly developing rural proletariat, while on the other were the agrarian capitalists to whom the war had given a golden opportunity for the making of vast profits on the money they had invested in the land.

After 1812, when Napoleon had fled from Moscow, leaving the frozen and ragged remnant of his Grand Army straggling homeward through a hostile and awakening Europe, the final defeat of the patron saint of British farmers was only a matter of time. Immediately landlords and farmers, foreseeing the end of their period of inflated prosperity, the renewal of foreign competition, and the loss of temporary markets, began to agitate for protective duties on imported corn, and for the removal of duties on exported corn. In 1813 Napoleon was defeated again, this time in the field, and by 1814 he had been driven back into



PLOUGH MONDAY CELEBRATIONS

Although it had few of the associations of May Day, Plough Monday, the first Monday after Epiphany, was commonly celebrated with festivity and prayer in most villages and farms. Indeed, every event in the rural calendar was made the occasion of some special observance from the earliest times until well into the nineteenth century. Just as some traditional May Day celebrations have been revived in the present century, so the ceremony of blessing the plough is still carried out in a number of British villages.

were open fields in Cobbett's time. Outside the wedge most of the open fields had been enclosed in earlier times, while within the wedge enclosure had been continuous since Tudor times. The essential truth remains, however, that in the eighteenth century the process of enclosure was so accelerated that the general picture is one of rapid change from an open-field system of community farming to an enclosed system of capitalized farming for profit.

Similarly, there was great diversity in the effect of enclosure and of the loss of common rights and of traditional access to commons. In some instances allotments were provided; in others a small common was retained for the use of householders; fuel rights were retained in some districts, and, at Sutton Cheney in Leicestershire, the commissioners left sufficient land to maintain a cow for all who had had a cow before. Again, however, these variations do not disturb the truth of the general proposition

that the rapid extension of the principle of capitalized farming in the eighteenth century was accompanied by the social and economic depression of the rural workers.

Again, there were many ways in which the weekly wage of agricultural labourers did not represent his total income. Extra wages could usually be earned at harvest times; "victuals," or at least certain allotments of food and drink, were sometimes added, and occasionally labourers "lived in" with the farmer's family. Many had the opportunity to keep a pig, or a cottage garden, or a potato patch. That the general standard of life, however, was appallingly low, that there was widespread want among the labouring families, and that even full employment was not a guarantee of comfort or even of economic independence, are truths not affected by specific exceptions to them.

There is one aspect of the changing conditions which, perhaps, more clearly than

any other reflects the true nature of the social revolution which was so much accelerated in the eighteenth century; the century saw the virtual end of the traditional festive merrymaking of the village community, at least in its original forms. Folk-singing, folk-dancing, mummers, and the performance of rural ceremonies had for centuries taken place on the occasions of church festivals or other holidays. Country-dancing and singing developed as spontaneous expressions of rural merrymaking. On certain holidays traditional ceremonies added to the pleasure of the village community. On May Day the fun began at dawn, when spring flowers were gathered, and a young birch tree, perhaps, was carried to the village green, decked with ribbons and flowers, ready for the dancing. Special May Day carols were sung from house to house, and sometimes a doll, decked in may-blossom, was carried round. Branches of may-blossom were left at the door as the "mayers" sang:

God bless you all
Both great and small,
And bring you a joyful May

Only a pale shadow of the Christmas festivities survives, for the unit of merry-making has shrunk from the community to the family. Only the Wassail songs remain to remind us of the carrying round of the wassail bowl, filled with spiced ale, for the toasting of householders as the carols were sung.

Wassail, Wassail, over the town!
Our toast is white, our ale is brown.
Our bowl is made of the maplin tree,
Good fellows all, we drink to thee.

Round the houses went the Mummers—
St. George and the Dragon, the King of

Egypt, Beelzebub, the Fool, and the rest of them—to act their play, to drink, and to add to the general entertainment.

There were many other such festivities. On Plough Monday the plough, decked with ribbons, was drawn through the village, accompanied by children and villagers in various costumes. The ceremony of the "dumb cake" was performed on the eve of the Festival of St. John the Baptist, and the girls in groups of six made in silence (for a spoken word broke the spell) a cake on parts of which they slept at night, to dream of future husbands.

The interesting point is not that these simple forms of rural festivity have gone, replaced now with more sophisticated amusement and entertainment; or that folk-dancing survives as a revived activity in schools, colleges, and country-dance societies. It is, rather, that these various activities were the spontaneous expression of a whole community, making merry as a unit, and that they ended as the social order they represented ended. As the rural peasant changed into the farm labourer, as the patriarchal squire changed into the hard-headed, materialistic agricultural capitalist, these pleasant traditional festivities tended to disappear. They disappeared, not because the labourer who toiled from dawn to sunset had no time for folly, or because the unemployed labourer had no inclination to revel; but, rather, because there was no longer a village community. There was, instead of a community which had included the peasants, a collection of lesser unities, the privately owned farms, which did not include the labourers. Children who sang at the doors of the farmer, if any did, sang as beggars. Enclosure had shut the door on the mummers.

Test Yourself

1. Discuss the pros and cons of the enclosure movement.
2. In view of the condition of rural workers in eighteenth-century Britain, comment on the suggestion that there is nothing harmful in the principle that able-bodied men should be dependent on their earning capacity.
3. Is it possible to justify the passing of the Corn Law of 1815?
4. Summarize the main changes in agricultural method in this period, and show the connexion between the changes.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

FACTORY, MINE, AND WORKSHOP

THE expression "industrial revolution," as applied to the changes in industrial procedure and organization in the eighteenth century, is misleading. In most of the industries nothing revolutionary occurred; most of the changes which did occur had begun long before and even yet have not been completed; and the greater part of the nineteenth century must have gone before it could have been said with truth that the typical British industrial worker was employed in a large industrial organization dependent on power-driven machinery. Late in the nineteenth century the average number of employees in factory and workshop still was small.

As late as 1830 the power-loom had barely affected textile industries other than the cotton industry; most branches of the leather industry, the hardware and cutlery industries of the Black Country and Sheffield, and industries essentially dependent on skills and craftsmanship, were but little affected. Even today there are many small domestic, partially domestic, and privately owned workshops, such as those making garden implements, chains, hand-forged tools, fire-grates, and so on, scattered about the Midlands. It is important to state this at the outset in order to maintain historical perspective, and to understand what really did take place in the eighteenth century to justify the general use of the term "industrial revolution."

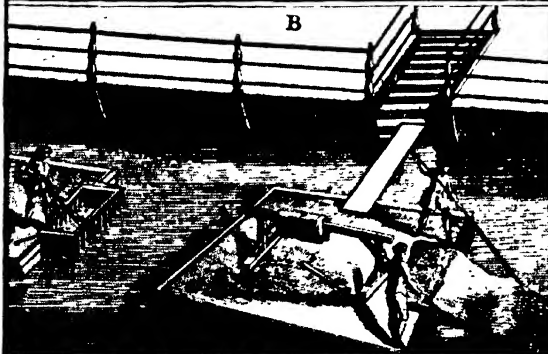
By the sixteenth century England's medieval interest in wool-production had already changed to an interest in the manufacture of woollen goods. During the seventeenth century there had been a very considerable development in the geographical and human specialization of textile industries, and in their capitalization. These industries were spread, naturally enough, along the sheep-rearing down-lands and chalk-lands, from Yorkshire along the eastern slopes of the Pennines, through East Anglia and Essex, along southern

England to Devon, and northward through Somerset and Gloucestershire into the Cotswold valleys.

In this textile region, towns of the typically English market-town type had grown rich by buying wool, distributing it amongst the cottagers of neighbouring country districts to be spun and perhaps woven, and then dyeing, finishing, and selling the fabric. Exeter, for example, made in this way serges and druggets which were exported to western European countries, to Naples, and to the East Indies. The towns of Wiltshire, Somerset, and Gloucestershire specialized in the manufacture of clothing, and many houses built of the beautiful Cotswold stone, or tablets in the churches, remind one of the profits made by the early pioneers who had capitalized the industry. There were very old textile industries in Hampshire where there was a tendency to specialize in the making of sackcloth and striped ticking. Baize was made in Essex; Surrey produced a mixed fabric of silk and worsted; silken goods had replaced woollens as the main product of East Anglia.

There were many other geographically specialized industries well developed by the end of the seventeenth century. In Buckinghamshire, where the marshy valley of the Thames produced an abundance of rushes, the plaiting of chair seats had developed into a chair-making industry, centred at High Wycombe. The moist clayey region which bordered the chalk-lands was good for cattle but poor for sheep, and various leather and skin industries had already concentrated into the manufacture of boots at Northampton. Iron was still smelted in the scattered charcoal-furnaces of the Weald, and there were fulling and paper mills in Kent.

These developing regions were the most populous and most urbanized of the country. Defoe, in *The Complete English Tradesman*, described Essex as "a large and exceedingly populous county . . . full of



PROCESSES IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WOOLLEN TRADE

This old print, originally engraved for the Universal Magazine of 1749, illustrated the methods of preparing wool for the market in order to satisfy the growing demand in connexion with the textile industry. The upper panel shows a scene in a West Country farmyard, where sheep are being sheared. The picture at bottom left, B, shows the washing of the wool; at C the beating is illustrated, and at D the combing. All these processes were integral parts of the medieval woollen industry and in one form or another have not been superseded.



CHARCOAL-BURNING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Charcoal-making and iron manufacture are closely related in England's social history. The abundance of timber in the countryside between the Thames Valley and the south coast made the Weald at once a great centre of medieval ironworks and an area of intensive charcoal-making, the forests of the Weald providing the wood for burning. A serious situation developed in the eighteenth century when the wealden forests became exhausted. This situation was one of the factors which provided the stimulus for early experiments in the use of coal as fuel in the great iron foundries.

great and populous towns, such as Colchester, Braintree, Coggeshall, Chelmsford, Billericay, Saffron Walden, Waltham, Romford, and innumerable small but very populous villages, and, in a word, the whole county full of people."

In the same work Defoe refers to Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucester, and Devon, as even more populous; he adds that "those who pretend to have calculated the numbers of people employed in these four counties assure me that there are not so few as a million of people constantly

employed in spinning and weaving for the woollen manufacture only; that besides the great cities, towns and seaports . . . there are not less than one hundred and twenty market towns . . . and fifteen hundred parishes, some of which are exceeding full of people."

There were, then, many well-developed industries before the middle period of the eighteenth century had been reached; they were concentrated in towns which were rapidly growing in size and wealth, and which were providing the country districts

around with domestic work and with markets for raw material and food. These industries, however, were essentially handicrafts; that is, they were manufactures in the literal sense of the term, which means "made by hand." They were, too, concentrated mainly in the south-east, south, and south-west of England, in the low-lying part of the country which from time immemorial had been the active and progressive part of the nation. During the eighteenth century, however, this picture was changing, at first slowly and then so rapidly as to suggest a revolutionary alteration of the whole industrial pattern of the country. Industries began to disappear from the districts in which they had flourished so long, many disappeared with the century. The region bounded roughly in the north and west by the Trent, Soar, Warwickshire Avon, and the lower Severn, except for London and the other ports, began to sink into peaceful tranquillity. The centre of industrial activity moved across the rivers, to where the coalfields lay.

Islands of Industry

A glance at parts of Shropshire as they are today will help to illustrate something of the nature of the changes, as they occurred, for in Shropshire many of the new conditions began but failed to develop. Such a glance would reveal tiny islands of industry, with scattered collieries and iron-works, in conditions which have remained essentially rural. In parts of the county one may travel for miles through farm-land and sleepy villages, to come suddenly and unexpectedly upon a coalpit, or a blast furnace, or an ironworks. From one such colliery, for example, a colliery which used to be known and probably still is known as "The Woodhouse Pit," the miners must walk miles through country lanes and farm-land tracks before reaching their homes in the village of St. George's, near Oakengates. One could see, too, something of the conditions under which the industrial workers lived. Donnington Wood, which before its recent development after the Second World War was a sleepy village of scattered houses and cottages, with near-by mines and iron-works, could have changed but little for a century. There one may still see in occupation a long row of poor dwellings known as

Mechanics' Row. Common wash-houses and other necessary conveniences had to serve the needs of several families. A vegetable garden with a pig helped to feed the large families which were usual, crushed in these tiny dwellings. A similar row, only recently condemned, was known as "The Barracks." Even worse were the long parallel rows, only a few yards apart, each row alternating with a row of communal "outhouses," which may still be seen in St. George's.

The point of this is that in the eighteenth century, and in some places for long after, the change from a rural district to one essentially urban and industrial was and is a very gradual one. When industrial centres began to develop on the coalfields, the first stage would resemble that described above as still typical of parts of the Midlands. Tiny islands of industry would appear in a

A LACE PILLOW

This reconstruction shows a method of lace working current during the early part of the nineteenth century. The lovely Buckinghamshire lace, at the time one of the most prized of English laces, was made on a pillow like that illustrated below. The glass globes at the side were filled with water to concentrate the light from the candle. Lace-making was one of the original English craft industries.



district which would remain for a long time essentially rural. Cottages would begin to cohere into rows of dwellings; a number of small factories would emerge; cinder banks would begin to grow into the "mountains" of the mining districts; possibly the foundation of an industrial township was being laid. Such towns grew without plan, ugly, sprawling communities, with rows of barrack-like houses developing into slums, as the new industries grew on the coalfields. Already existing towns in these districts spread and thickened. They would continue to grow for some generations before the need of urban sanitation had sufficiently demonstrated itself to provoke action. Open refuse dumps; exposed dunghills in the centre of "courts" and "closes" round which were clustered workers' homes, lack of sewers, inadequate water-supply; crowded

houses and crowded towns—such was the gradually evolving picture as the centre of industrial interest and activity passed over the Trent and Avon to the north-west and Midlands, where the coalfields lay.

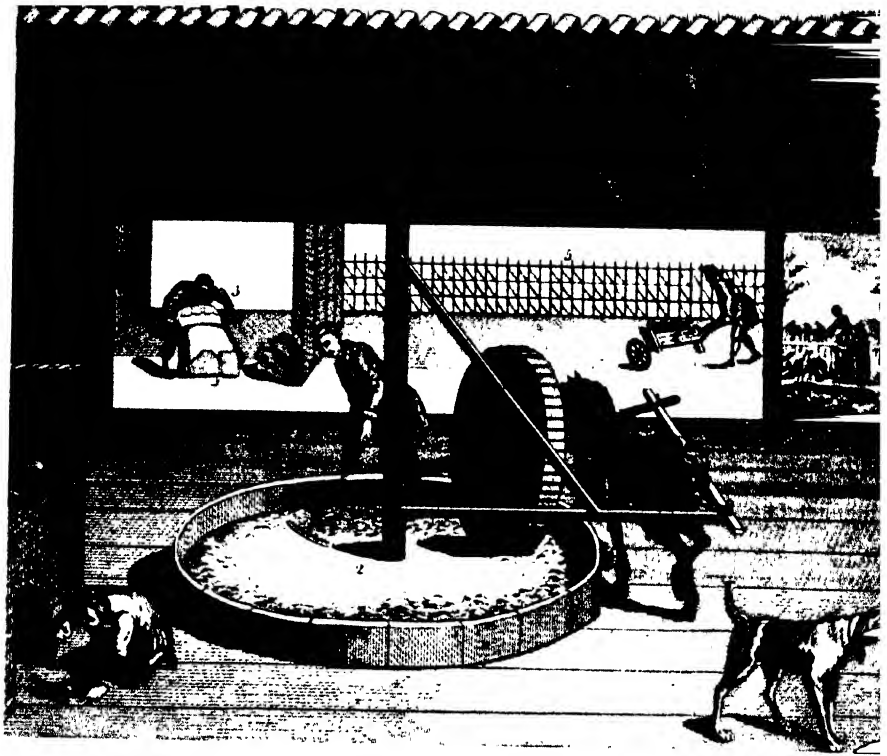
Of the many factors which accelerated evolutionary changes or effected revolutionary ones in British industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the development of the use of coal for iron-smelting is the most influential. A new iron age was begun; and sheep, instead of providing wool, were to provide food for the towns which were soon to grow rich in the new industrial regions.

It is unlikely that many of those who have sung "Hearts of Oak Are Our Ships" have realized that four thousand oak trees were needed for the building of every naval vessel in the days of the wooden ships. At

THE ART OF STOCKING-FRAME KNITTING

Something of the ingenuity of eighteenth-century inventions is shown in the contrivances illustrated in this drawing, which was engraved for the Universal Magazine in 1750. The description on the engraving gives the following key: A is the jack for the bobbins to turn up. B is the fixer, or woman whose business is to twist the threads of silk as shall best suit the frame in which the work is to be performed. C the vices, which wind the hanks and skeins upon the bobbins for the use of the fixer. D is the winder. E is the stocking-frame, or engine.





A TANNER'S WORKSHOP

Seventeen-fifty-one is the date of this interesting drawing which shows the various parts of a tanner's workshop of the time in cut-away form. At (1) is the kiln for drying the bark, at (2) the mill for grinding the tan, at (3) a man is shaving the flesh from the skin after it has been taken out of the lime-pit, at (4) the tan, now in the form of cakes, is being taken away after it has been used in tanning hides preparatory to drying the cakes, at (5) the pieces or cakes of tan are in position to dry between "flakes."

the beginning of the eighteenth century the surviving trees of the New Forest would have provided timber for no more than three ships, whereas a century earlier there would have been enough for thirty or more. Other "forests" had been similarly stripped. For centuries the British wood-lands had provided timber in plenty, for the framework of houses, for fences, for furniture, weapons, and tools, for ships, for fuel, and for the making of charcoal for iron-smelting. Plenty often leads to wastage, and little serious thought had been given to the replacement of trees so extravagantly used as those of England through the centuries, or to the conservation of what remained. Inroads into wood-lands continued to be made by grants and enclosures, with the

resultant conversions of such woods in many instances to arable or to park-land.

The development of Anglo-French commercial and colonial rivalry in the west and east and the increasingly widespread nature of warfare since William III had challenged Louis XIV's bid for world power, had emphasized Britain's dependence on her Navy. Various attempts had been made, though with little consistency or effect, to conserve what remained of the forests. The greatest sufferers from such attempts were the ironsmiths and iron-founders, whose charcoal-burning forges and furnaces were scattered in conveniently wooded places over the country. The most important were the old-established ones on the Sussex Weald, where the winds which

swept the moor-land provided the necessary blast and the near-by forest the charcoal. The cannons which had been used against the Armada had been made there. There were mobile forges in the Forest of Dean; iron had been smelted on the Yorkshire moor-lands since the days of the monks. Iron industries were developing rapidly in the Birmingham area and in Sheffield. If the iron industry was to survive, the first need was the development of the processes which did not depend on charcoal.

In 1619 Dud Dudley, of Dudley, Worcestershire, patented a method of using "sea-cole" for the smelting of iron, and described the process and its advantages in his *Merallium Martis*. Little immediate use was made of the suggestion, but by the end of the century notice had to be taken. Early experimenters in the use of coal or coke for the smelting of iron found it difficult to maintain a sufficient blast to keep the coke furnace burning vigorously enough, or to reduce the amount of carbon and other "impurities" in the resultant pig-iron. The first ironmaster to succeed in making the process commercially practicable was Abraham Darby I, who had left Bristol to found the Coalbrookdale Iron Company in Shropshire. The probable date of the elder Darby's success was 1709. His son Abraham Darby II improved the process, and the new coal-and-iron age had dawned.

Development of Coal-mining

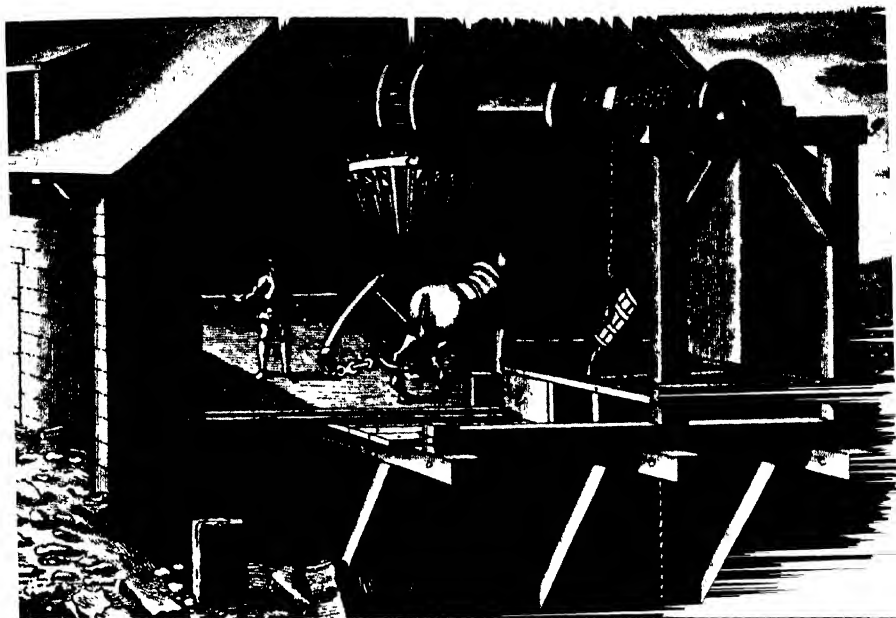
During the previous century, the seventeenth, coal-mining had been developing rapidly. By the sixteenth century coal was regularly used as domestic fuel in London and in towns to which it could be carried by river transport. It was, too, used in a number of industrial processes, and in Stuart times the chief coalfields were already being worked. Between 1681 and 1690 nearly three million tons were produced throughout the British Isles, of which Scotland produced about 16 per cent, Wales 7 per cent, and Ireland a negligible fraction. Of the English coalfields those of Northumberland and Durham were responsible for 41 per cent of the total British yield, and for more than half that of England. The Midland collieries, scattered through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, War-

wickshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, produced about 16 per cent of the total yield, Cumberland mines about 3 per cent, while the remainder came from Kingswood Chase, Somerset, Devon, and the Forest of Dean.

Cost of Cartage

Newcastle was the port for the mining region of Northumberland and Durham. Defoe describes the process of distribution as it was in George II's reign. "They (i.e. the coals) are dug," he wrote, "in the pit a vast depth in the ground, sometimes fifty, sixty, to a hundred fathoms; and, being loaded . . . into a great basket or tub, are drawn up by a wheel and horse, or horses, to the top of the shaft, or pit mouth, and there thrown out upon a great heap, to lie ready against the ships come into the port to demand them. They are then loaded again into a great machine called a wagon; which by the means of an artificial road called a wagonway, goes with the help of but one horse, and carries two chaldrons, or more, at a time, and this, sometimes, three or four miles to the nearest river or water carriage they come at; and there they are either thrown into, or from, a great storehouse called a steath, made so artificially, with one part close to or hanging over the water, that the lighters or keels can come close to, or under it, and the coals be at once shot out of the wagon into the said lighters, which carry them to the ships, which I call the first loading upon the water." The cost of coals at the pit mouth at this time was "under five shillings per chaldron"; but, Defoe adds, "when they are a third time loaded on board lighters in the Thames, and carried through bridge, then loaded a fourth time into the great West Country barges, and carried up a river, perhaps to Oxford or Abingdon, and thence loaded a fifth time in carts and wagons, and carried perhaps ten, or fifteen or twenty miles to the last consumer; by this time they are sometimes sold from forty-five to fifty shillings per chaldron; so that the five shillings first cost, including five shillings tax, is increased to five times the prime cost."

Well before Defoe's time surface coal had ceased to meet the demand, and, notwithstanding the most shocking accidents



WORKING IN A SLATE QUARRY

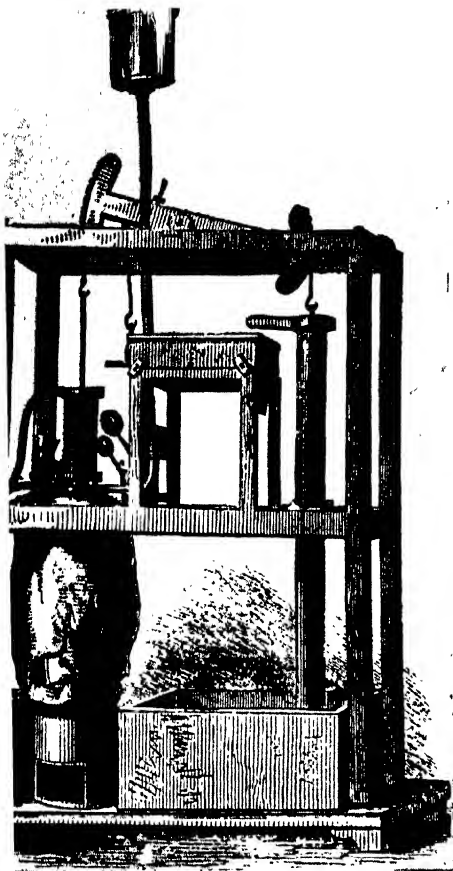
Here is an interesting application of horse-power to industry in the eighteenth century. The horse in the picture pulls round the cylindrical framework which cogs in with the wheel above. This in turn works the pulley which raises the quarried material to ground level. Horse-power was similarly used in many of the shallow mines of the period, including a number of the coal-mines. Below ground, of course, other than men, the horse was the only form of power available for haulage, since as yet no engine had been developed.

through explosions caused by firedamp and accumulated coal-gas, in which a hundred men, women, and children might be blown to pieces at a time, deeper mines were being sunk. The greatest obstacle to deep mining was the flooding of the pits, and the inadequacy of horse-worked pumps made some more efficient procedure an urgent necessity. That the way to a solution was discovered at about the same time that Darby's success at Coalbrookdale gave a new impetus to coal-mining is an event of genuinely revolutionary significance, not only because it made possible a supply of coal adequate to the demands of the new iron-smelting processes, but also because the new process of pumping employed the first commercially successful and practicable steam-engine.

The possibility of using steam as a power agent had been known to the Greeks, but, except to use it to work what was little more than a toy, no practical use was made of the knowledge. In Charles II's reign the

Marquis of Worcester had constructed a steam-pump which, though noisy, crude, and extravagant of fuel, had succeeded in raising water to a height from which it could be carried through pipes into his house. In 1698 Savery patented a "fire-engine" which would raise water about fifteen feet. Obviously this would be of little use in a mine three or four hundred feet deep, but it was a start. A smith named Newcomen, given one of Savery's engines to repair, began experiments which resulted in the invention of an improved engine which was the first really effective type. They were in use from 1715, and, though several had to be used at different heights in deep mines, there was little improvement in them for two generations.

Savery's and Newcomen's engines were atmospheric engines. As in an old-fashioned hand-pump, in which pressure is needed only to bring down the handle, so, in these early steam-pumps, the problem was to force down the piston which was, as it



NEWCOMEN'S STEAM ENGINE

Thomas Newcomen, an Englishman born in 1663, was the inventor of a contrivance which made the piston-engine a practical success. In his "atmospheric engine" patented in 1705 the weight of the "bucket" pulled up the piston. Steam was then introduced into the cylinder, condensed to form a vacuum, and air pressure forced down the piston. It was in use for pumping mines in 1711.

were, attached to the handle. Steam was not used directly for this purpose. It was introduced into the cylinder when the piston was at the top, then the steam was condensed to form a partial vacuum under the piston, which was then forced down by the pressure of the air above it. In Savery's engine the cylinder, the boiler, and the condenser were one and the same vessel. In Newcomen's engine the water was boiled in a separate vessel, but the cylinder and con-

denser remained a single unit. It was left for Watt to invent a steam-engine in which the three units were separate, and in which steam was used to work the piston directly.

The Watt-Boulton Engine

James Watt, in the intervals between the making of mathematical instruments for Glasgow University, had begun to experiment with steam-engine models after one of Newcomen's had come into his hands. He interested Dr. Roebuck, who had founded the Carron Ironworks, in his experiments, and was financed by this ironmaster, who, however, went bankrupt. One of Roebuck's creditors, the astute Matthew Boulton, of Soho, Birmingham, succeeded to the interest, took Watt into partnership, helped to perfect the engine, and in 1775 put the famous Watt-Boulton engine on to the market. They did not, at first, construct the complete engine; they supplied plans, certain parts, and, usually, men to erect the engine and to instruct the purchasers in its use. The cylinders were usually supplied by Wilkinsons, of Bersham, who had invented a new method of boring cast-iron cylinders and cannon. Watt himself spent a long time in supervising the erection of his engines in the tin- and lead-mines of Cornwall. Gradually they appeared at collieries; others were used at furnaces to provide a regular and efficient blast; breweries used them; it was easy to apply their use to steam-hammers. What for a long time was found to be a baffling problem was how to use the up-and-down motion of the piston to turn a wheel.

It is interesting to notice in passing that in the decade 1781 to 1790 the output of British coal had risen to over ten and a quarter million tons, which was three and a half times the output of the corresponding decade of the previous century. In two centuries the output had increased by about fifty times. From the sixteenth to the twentieth century it increased over a thousand fold.

A further point of interest in all these developments is that to a very large extent they were interdependent. The supply of coal needed to meet the new demands depended on the supply of steam-engines which were needed to prevent the mines from flooding. The steam-engines depended

for their functioning on an adequate supply of coal, and, for their supply, on an adequate supply of iron of suitable quality. In turn, the supply of iron depended on the supply of coal, and the circle of interdependence was completed. For some time there was room for development and considerable expansion within this circle; but, before the dawning engineering age could make much progress, some new stimulus outside this circle was necessary. First, however, within the circle, there were important developments in the quality and type of iron produced.

Iron is produced in three forms: cast-iron or pig-iron, wrought-iron, and steel. Cast-iron is that which is run into troughs or moulds directly from the furnace in which it has been melted from the ore. In this form the iron retains a considerable quantity of carbon, absorbed during the process of smelting from the coke with which the ore was mixed in the furnace. Because of the presence of this carbon cast-iron is hard and brittle. Like the early cannon, the cylinders used for the steam-engines were bored castings. The disadvantage of cast-iron cylinders was that their brittle, non-elastic quality was unsuited to the expansion and contraction which the conditions demanded.

"Puddling" Iron

Wrought-iron is that from which this carbon content has been wholly or partially excluded. By re-melting the cast-iron or "pigs," and by "working" the molten mass so that as much of it as possible came into contact with the air, the carbon combined with the oxygen of the air and was said to be "burnt out." Unfortunately more carbon was absorbed from the coke in the process, until Henry Cort, of Gosport, invented the "reverberatory furnace" and developed the processes of puddling and rolling. This furnace had the advantage that only the flame came into contact with the pigs, so that no new carbon was absorbed. After the molten iron had been "puddled" or "worked," and as it was in a soft and plastic state, it was passed through rollers, which squeezed out further impurities, and, according to the shape of the rollers, produced plates or sheets of wrought-iron, of any desired thickness, or bars of any

desired sectional shape. This development marked a new departure; for plates could be shaped, cut, and bent to make boilers, cylinders, tubes, convertors, and the like, while the bars and rods could be used for girders, the framework of all kinds of structures, for bridges, and so on. With these developments the possible uses of iron for constructional work became virtually unlimited, and a new science of engineering was born.

Early Forms of Steel

While cast-iron was hard and brittle, wrought-iron was relatively soft and malleable. Steel is that form of iron which, by the addition of other things, retains sufficient hardness and sufficient elasticity to do work for which neither cast- nor wrought-iron is suitable. The early forms of steel were a compromise, made by retaining or re-introducing some of the carbon. Both ways were tried, and one method used was that of re-melting wrought-iron round which a known quantity of carbon was bound. This method had the disadvantage that the resultant steel was not uniform or homogeneous; there was a greater percentage of carbon on the outside, where there had been direct contact with it, than inside. Benjamin Huntsman, of Doncaster, a clockmaker who wanted a better quality of steel for the springs of his clocks, discovered a method of re-melting the wrought iron in crucibles, in which he had a known quantity of carbon and a special flux, so that the resultant steel was homogeneous. This steel was the finest produced for more than a generation.

While these developments were beginning to extend the iron and steel industries in new directions, the invention which genuinely revolutionized them was that of using a steam-engine to turn a wheel. It is strange that the problem of using the motion of a piston to turn a wheel should have been so baffling. There are still existing many drawings which represent some of the early attempts to apply steam-power to rotary motion; in one of them a jet of steam was directed into the troughs round the circumference of a wheel shaped like the old water-wheels of the mills. The solution was found by Watt, who, with Boulton, produced the first rotary engine in 1785. One implication

of this invention was that industries which were beginning to use machinery would, when they adopted power-driven machinery, tend to concentrate their factories on the coalfields, so that these districts of the Midlands and North would gradually become the industrial centres of Britain. Another implication was that the cost and size of power-driven machinery would bring industry under the control of companies and financiers wealthy enough to buy them and to organize big factories and workshops. One industry was already becoming mechanized, and was providing a market for the iron machines and for the steam-engines to work them. This was the cotton industry.

Development of Cotton Industry

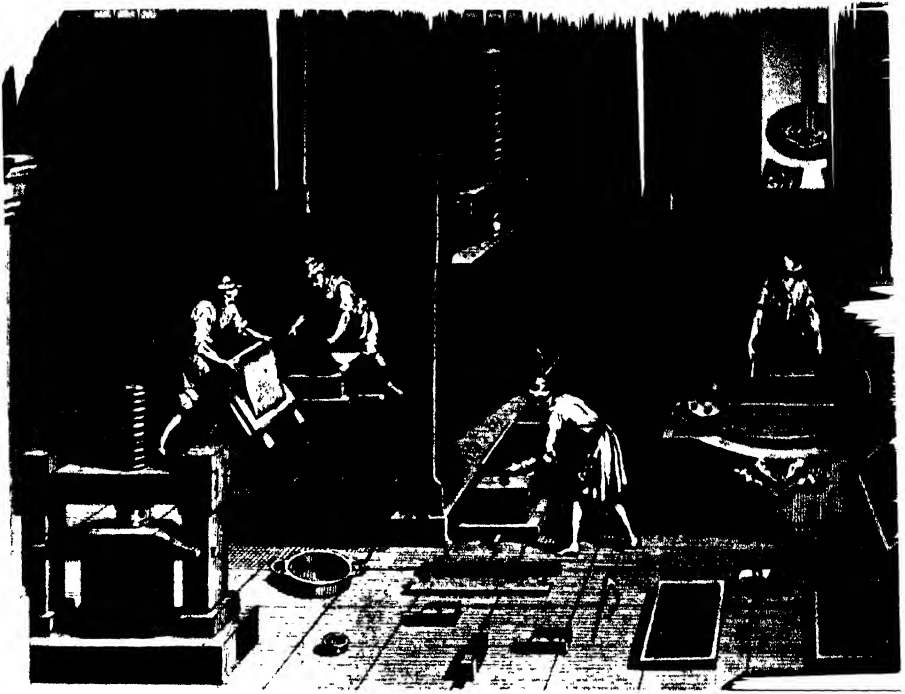
Long before the eighteenth century there was a demand for cotton goods in Britain, and increasing quantities of cotton fabrics were being supplied to meet the demand. Some came with tea, porcelain, and other luxuries which the ships of the East India Company brought back from the Far East; but not all, for enterprising attempts to meet some of the demand by manufacturing at home goods which were at least partly of cotton had begun in the sixteenth century. Lancashire, in the seventeenth century, was producing a fair quantity of fustian, a fabric with a linen warp and cotton weft. The possibilities of cotton manufacture could not have failed to interest a nation so commercially minded as Britain, so familiar with all the processes of textile industry, and with such opportunities of obtaining the raw material. Equally inevitably the manufacture of cotton goods was opposed by woollen manufacturers and wool producers. Various Acts of Parliament attempted both the prohibition of the manufacture, even the wearing, of cotton fabrics; but the demand grew, and in consequence so did the manufacture.

In several ways the manufacture of cotton goods in Britain differed from other textile industries, and these differences influenced the form of its development. It was, in the first place, entirely dependent on imported raw material, so that from the first it was controlled by capitalists wealthy enough to buy large quantities of the imported raw cotton, to finance the various

processes of manufacture, and to wait for a considerable time for their profits. In the second place, most of these capitalists were wealthy merchants, for the early cotton trade was interdependent with the slave trade, and was an essential element in the famous triangle of trade. By the middle of the eighteenth century British ships were carrying annually some fifty thousand Negroes to the plantations of America and the West Indies. The "slavers," of which between two and three hundred sailed annually from London, Bristol, and Liverpool, carried, amongst other goods, cotton fabrics to Africa, picked up their black cargoes, and, after crossing the Atlantic, returned to Britain with sugar, rum, tobacco, and raw cotton. In another way the slave trade and the cotton trade were connected; for the supply of cotton depended on the supply of Negro slaves. By 1750 Liverpool had leaped to the first place as a slave-trading port, because Lancashire was already becoming the centre of the cotton industry.

It is this growing concentration of the young industry in Lancashire, where the moist climate was particularly suitable for it, which formed a third influence in its peculiar development. Lancashire was not, as were the centres of the woollen industries, a flourishing and populous rural area, with prosperous market-towns developing out of a rural environment and retaining something of its rural quality. Though superficially the general procedure, whereby the towns were the distributing centres of an industry of which the main processes were carried out as domestic crafts in outlying cottages, was the same in the woollen and early cotton industries, the conditions were fundamentally different. The Lancashire towns grew as industrial towns, towns which included not only the houses of the distributing merchants, but also the hurriedly constructed haphazard dwellings of the spinners, weavers, and others employed in the manufacture of the cotton goods.

With the development of cotton-growing in Georgia, and the ever-increasing popularity of cotton goods at home, the situation was reached in the early eighteenth century when the processes of manufacture could neither meet the demand nor absorb the



PAPER-MAKING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century, as this engraving shows, paper-making had not passed out of its rudimentary stage, even though the demand for it was increasing rapidly because of the growing number of people able to read, a greater interest in literature as such, and the rise of a class of wealthy landowners and industrial magnates who regarded patronage of literature as obligatory. Considering that paper was used in China soon after the beginning of the Christian era, it is surprising how little progress had been made in its manufacture. At the end of the eighteenth century a most important development took place with the invention of the paper-making machine in France. This allowed paper to be made cheaply and in the roll. The first machine was set up in England in 1803.

available raw material. The invention of Kay's flying shuttle in 1733, which was first applied to woollen manufacture at Colchester and to cotton probably not before 1760, speeded up the process of weaving, but did not materially alter the general position. Weaving obviously absorbs yarn much more quickly than yarn can be spun, and before Kay's invention one weaver could keep some half-dozen spinners fully employed. Moreover, before the spinning process had begun the raw cotton had to be carded. Carding is the process of straightening the fibres to prepare them for the spinning process. Kay's invention, therefore, further emphasized the need for still faster spinning.

The necessity stimulated invention, and in 1764 James Hargreaves constructed, and in 1770 patented, his famous "jenny." Hargreaves was a Blackburn weaver, and the story goes that his invention was developed from his having noticed that his wife's spinning-wheel continued to revolve for some time by its own impetus once his wife had started it. It was deducible, therefore, that such a wheel could do more work than it was doing. Hargreaves constructed a machine with eight spindles instead of the usual single one, and named it a "jenny" after his wife. Soon the number of spindles increased to fourteen, and the new "jennies" were hired out to the spinners by the merchants. Some of the craftsmen who



A COTTON MILL ABOUT 1835

More elaborate machinery and the recruitment of an increasing amount of female labour were the principal features of the industrial revolution as it affected the cotton mills. The invention of the power-loom in 1765 marked the real beginning of the change from the hand-spinning which had been unchallenged until that time. In this picture the cotton is seen leaving the carding-machine in the form of a rope which is coiled in a can. Exposed belt drives and gearing, with the resultant chance of accident, are no longer allowed.

had saved enough money bought one of them. Sometimes a number were bought and set up in a barn. When the number of spindles on a single machine had been increased to a hundred and twenty, however, the new machines were too big and too expensive for the ordinary cottager to house or to own. Other machines, too, were appearing, gradually to remove the processes of cotton manufacture from the cottage to the mill.

Cotton-spinning, both on the original spinning-wheel and on the more elaborate "jenny," produced a thread which was too coarse and brittle to be used for the warp of any of the finer fabrics, and attempts to produce a strong fine yarn had already been made. Paul, in 1738, had patented a machine for producing a thread by a rolling process, in which the thread was drawn through a series of differently sized rollers. But it was not until 1769 that the process was perfected by Richard

Arkwright, a barber of Bolton. Nagged by his wife for neglecting business to play with his models, Arkwright left his wife and shop to become an itinerant hairdresser, forfeiting security for a little peace. He contrived to continue his experiments and, with the assistance of a go-ahead manufacturer, patented his "water-frame" in 1769. As the name implies, it was a water-power machine, and it is significant that it was patented in the same year as Watt's improved steam-engine. Ten years later Samuel Crompton, of Bolton, invented a machine which combined the processes and the advantages of a roller-produced and a spun thread, a compounded machine known consequently as a "mule." As these machines increased in size and complexity—"mules" were soon constructed with as many as four hundred spindles—the ground was prepared for the application of steam-power to the cotton industry. Once steam-engines capable of rotary motion had been invented, not only

was it inevitable that the new power-driven machines should have been concentrated in mills and factories; the factories themselves tended to be concentrated in the coal-producing areas. Power-driven weaving machines followed, and, though the general mechanization of the processes of the textile industries was necessarily slow and gradual, the day of the domestic worker in these fields was ending. The development of steam-power and of its application to machinery implied the development of a factory system of production. Before we examine some of the social effects of this series of changes in industrial procedure and organization, it is necessary to glance at the accompanying revolution in methods of transport.

Increasing Importance of Transport

One result of specialization is that there can be no more self-sufficiency. The human specialist has to depend on other specialists for the satisfaction of his own needs, and, similarly, regions which become specialized producers can no longer be independent. The increasing concentration of British industries in the eighteenth century in certain areas implied that such districts were increasingly dependent on other districts for food, materials, and for markets; and in turn this increasing geographical interdependence implied the need of a good system of transport. This obvious need became all the more urgent when the concentrated industries began to depend on such heavy materials as coal and iron, and on the distribution of such heavy and cumbersome goods as boilers, cylinders, machinery, and the like.

Some of the difficulties, delays, and expenses involved in the transport of coal have already been described in the extract quoted from Defoe's description of the conveyance of coal from Newcastle to Oxford by road, sea, and river. Where possible water transport was preferred, for the roads were shockingly bad until quite late in the century. But obviously water transport was not generally available. The central watershed of England made river-transport from the east coast to the west obviously impossible; coalfields did not always lie conveniently near to navigable rivers; no authority existed for the maintenance of

river banks, and rivers which overflowed in winter brought back mud and silt to create in summer shallow reaches which it was nobody's business to clear.

Inadequate as was the inland system of waterways, the condition of the roads was worse. Many roads were vague tracks, merging on either side into brushwood which formed the hiding place of highway robbers. There were ruts deep enough to hide a bullock, and on one occasion the royal coach overturned at Fulham, throwing out George II and his queen. In winter the greater part of the Midlands, where the ground was of clay, was an impenetrable quagmire. Many towns were as isolated in a wet season as though they were besieged. In the Middle Ages the Church had kept what survived of the old Roman roads from disappearing altogether, and had made and maintained bridges. With the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII, this voluntary service had to be handed over to some other authority, and the Highway Act of 1555 made it compulsory for the parishes to keep in repair the roads which passed through them. Householders had to devote annually four days of eight hours to work on the roads, and supervisors were appointed to inspect the work. The scheme was useless from the start. Householders who could afford it preferred to pay the fine which the magistrates could impose for the neglect of the duty. Those who did the work were neither interested nor skilled, and repairs consisted in the filling of the worst of the ruts and holes with clay, stones, or whatever was available. The extension of the four days' labour to six, in 1562, made no effective improvement, nor did other attempts embodied in various Acts of Parliament until the passing of the Highways Act of 1663, the first of the Turnpike Acts.

The Turnpike Acts

The Turnpike Acts transferred the cost of road repair from the parishes to the users of the roads by making such users pay tolls. Justices of the Peace were authorized to set up toll-gates along the Great North Road, and the tolls collected were to be used for the maintenance of the sections of the road enclosed between two such toll-gates. These sections were known as turnpikes. The idea

soon spread, perhaps because it revealed the possibility of profit-making schemes. Increasing numbers of individuals and companies were entrusted by specific Acts of Parliament with the care of a section of roadway, and the proportion of the money collected which they spent on the repair of the road-section entrusted to them was very largely a matter of conscience. The turnpike system was responsible, however, for bringing about a real improvement. In the eighteenth century over two thousand Road Acts were passed, of which sixteen hundred were passed after the General Turnpike Act of 1755 made the construction of turnpikes compulsory where they were needed. The usual tolls were one penny for a horse or a score of cattle, sixpence for a cart, and one shilling for a wagon.

Employment of Road Engineers

Until a scientific method of construction was employed, and until the sectional turnpikes were connected by the amalgamation of the trusts responsible for them, no very great improvement was possible, nor could any national roadway system be likely to emerge. This stage was reached when the more responsible trusts began to employ road engineers on long stretches of roadway. After the Forty-Five, the Young Pretender's bid for the throne, had been crushed, two hundred and fifty miles of good road were laid in the Highlands by compulsory labour under the direction of Field-Marshal Wade. Scotland set the example. In 1765, John Metcalf, known as Blind Jack of Knaresborough, was employed on part of a turnpike from Harrogate to Boroughbridge. He insisted on the laying of a good foundation to the road, and he applied his methods of using heather or ling for this purpose to the one hundred and eighty miles of reconstructed roads for which he was responsible in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire. A great advance was made by Thomas Telford, a shepherd's son who had studied architecture and had turned to road engineering. Telford emphasized the importance of good road-drainage. He drained the surface by making it convex; the foundation was drained by constructing it of large stones. Under his direction, and by the amalgamation of the trusts involved, the Holyhead Road was

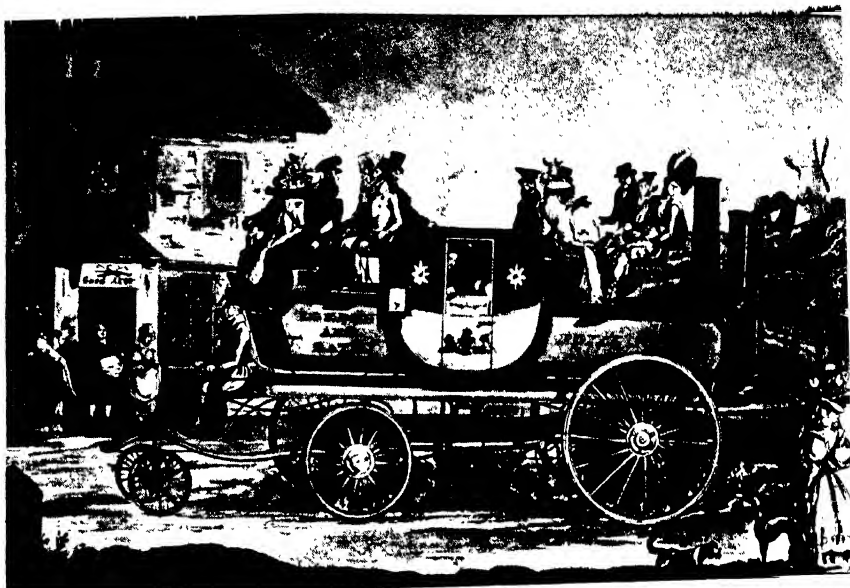
reconstructed by 1815. Telford was responsible also for the Menai Bridge, which continued the road into Anglesey.

The most famous of the British road-makers was Macadam, who returned from America after a period of successful commercial enterprise to apply his genius to the construction of roads in his native Ayrshire. England then adopted him, and in 1819 he was employed by thirty-four turnpike trusts. Macadam's method was to lay a foundation of large, irregular, sharp flints instead of rounded stones of the pebble type, to cover these with smaller flints of a similar irregular kind, and to make the surface of still smaller ones. He maintained, and experience confirmed, that such stones would be crushed into a durable, elastic, and well-drained roadway by the road traffic. This system of constructing "macadamized" roads is still employed, assisted by the use of heavy rollers, and perfected in recent times by the use of such dust-reducing agents as tar.

The generation after Waterloo was the Golden Age of British coaching. By 1840 there were in England alone some twenty-two thousand miles of good roads. The coach-horn announced the arrival of stage-coaches, with passengers and goods, at wayside inns where fresh horses and refreshments were waiting. Equally familiar were the jingling bells of the wagon-horses, announcing the arrival or the passage of goods.

Value of Water Transport

Valuable as was this great improvement in road transport, it did not solve the problems of the heavy industries. Except for the journey from pit or ironworks to the nearest point where river-transport was possible, the conveyors of coal or iron did not use the roads, and improved waterways were urgently needed. Nor did the improved roads entirely solve the transport problems of the developing potteries of North Staffordshire. The potters' clay came from Cornwall and Devon, carried mainly by river as far as Bridgnorth on the Severn, or possibly to Winsford on the Weaver. The flints used in the process came by way of the Humber and the Trent as far as Willington. For the completion of both journeys pack-horses were used. For the



THE NEW STEAM CARRIAGE

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed many important developments in transport, and many also which were remarkably ingenious but had little permanent effect. Gurney's steam coach of 1829 (seen above) was one of the latter. Though experiments with steam traction on the roads had been made since the beginning of the century, the steam coach proudly labelled London and Bath is clearly modelled on the stage-coach

completed pottery, however, carriage along even the improved roads afforded little security against breakage.

Attempts to improve the inland waterways were made in the seventeenth century by extending the navigable stretches of some of the rivers. The Lea was made serviceable from Ware to London, so that the corn and cattle of the farms lying to the east of the Chilterns could be carried directly to the capital by water. National and commercial interests in the seventeenth century were still mainly concentrated in the south-eastern half of the country, and most of the improvements to the rivers were made in that region. The Medway, the Thames, the Wye, and the Avon, for example, all received attention. The main exception to this early concentration of interest was that given to the Mersey, which was made navigable in 1694 as far as Warrington, Liverpool rapidly profited by this work, growing almost in a generation from a marshy village to an active port. Continued work on the Mersey and the

Irwell brought Manchester into water-communication with Liverpool.

It was in this rapidly developing industrial region of the north that the first and most successful experiments in the construction of canals were made. By the construction of the Sankey Brook Canal, coal could be carried by water from the Lancashire collieries to Liverpool, and the success of this experiment led rapidly to others. The Duke of Bridgewater, one of the wealthy landowners who had taken advantage of the discovery of coal on their estates, engaged the unschooled genius, James Brindley, to construct a canal from his pits to Manchester. The completion of this canal halved the price of coal in Manchester, and led to the Duke's financing a second canal, which Brindley successfully constructed from Runcorn to Manchester. This canal, completed in 1772, soon became the chief means of communication and transport between Liverpool and Manchester, superseding the older Mersey-Irwell route. It is interesting to notice in



CANAL SCENE, 1828

This picture, which shows the Regent's Canal at Paddington, has a twofold interest. The rural scene underlines the fantastic speed of growth of the metropolis during the last hundred and fifty years. It also illustrates the great economic importance of the canal system to British industry before railways provided intensive and effective competition. As early as the seventeenth century a few rivers had been canalized. Then in 1761 the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, constructed between Manchester and the Duke's collieries at Worsley, was opened, and this marked the beginning of the great period of British canal construction.

passing that the expert who had carried out this profitable venture for the imaginative financier who foresaw its value received less than a pound a week for his services.

A more ambitious project followed, no less than that of connecting the waters of the Trent and the Mersey to make water-carriage possible from coast to coast. This involved the crossing or the penetration of the central watershed to the south of the Pennines. The engineering difficulties were formidable, in view of the inadequacy of the tools available at the time, but Brindley, who was again responsible, succeeded in overcoming them. By thirty-five locks on the eastern side, a three-quarter-mile tunnel, and further locks on the western side, the canal was completed, and in use in 1777. Barges could be drawn all the way from Hull to Liverpool or to Manchester. From this canal spread others, to the Cheshire salt-mines, to the Staffordshire potteries, to the steelworks and ironworks of the Midlands, and to London. Less permanently useful were the southern

canals, such as the Kennet-Avon Canal, or the Grand Junction Canal. The main service of the canals was to solve the immediate problems of the new heavy industries. In an age when speed mattered little, coal, iron, iron goods, corn, cattle, and heavy goods generally could drift leisurely at about four miles an hour along river and canal, with everyone content that the barges would eventually arrive. Industry and towns began to develop rapidly in the backward wildernesses of the Midlands, the North, and South Wales. Many of the companies responsible for the canals began to make huge profits. Profits and advantages, however, great as they were, were short-lived; for steam-locomotion was soon to supersede transport by canals and roads alike.

Railways, as distinct from steam-locomotion, were not new. The roads along which coal had to be carried from pit-head to river or canal were soon reduced to impassable quagmires, and planks or wooden rails were an obvious aid. They

had been in use for a long time between the Northumberland and Durham field and the Tyne. In the eighteenth century cast-iron rails and cast-iron wheels were introduced and were soon in fairly general use. After the invention of steam-engines capable of turning a wheel, such engines were placed at intervals along some of the railroads, particularly on steep gradients, to draw along the trucks. This was an expensive and clumsy process, and usually, if the gradients were not too steep, horse-traction was preferred. Even sails were occasionally used to assist this early railroad transport.

Where such rails were to be laid for the carriage of other than private goods an Act of Parliament was necessary, and many such Acts accompanied the Canal Acts. The first Act authorizing the construction of a railway not connected with the canals was passed in 1801; it permitted the construction of a double line of plate rails from Wandsworth to Croydon. This line was in use until 1846 for the carriage of lime, chalk, manure, and agricultural produce. Thirty such railways were constructed before 1820.

Until the invention of steam-locomotion, however, such railways were merely supplementary to the canals and the improved roads, and before that further revolutionary change had taken place the industrial changes, the early stages of which we have observed, had made considerable progress. To these developments it is necessary to return.

Concentration of Industry

The general effect of the changes in industrial procedure outlined above was, firstly, to concentrate the centres of industry in or near the main coalfields in the North and the Midlands; and, secondly, bring industry more and more under the control of wealthy individuals or companies, employing many hands, and depending on power-driven machinery. All this was necessarily a very gradual process. Domestic industry, handicrafts, small works employing few people, and such characteristics of the older industrial methods, continued to exist and have not yet been entirely superseded by a system of mechanized production in large factories.

One characteristic feature of this tran-

sitional phase of industrial evolution was the persistence and, in some industries, the development, of outwork. Outworkers were skilled craftsmen who were employed in their own homes or private workshops by masters who supplied them with the material and who paid them for a finished or partly finished product. The practice was well established and had persisted in the clothing industry; small iron goods such as nails were often made by outworkers; boots, gloves, lace, hosiery, and knitted goods were among the many goods similarly produced. The invention of machines for the spinning and rolling of yarn had ended domestic spinning, but hand-weaving on privately owned or hired looms occupied some half a million outworkers as late as 1820 or 1830.

Small Businesses

There were, too, well into the nineteenth century, very many small works and factories employing few hands, with very little capital behind them. Even as late as 1830 each mine probably employed on the average only sixty or seventy men, women, and boys.

While it is necessary to be reminded of the transitional and gradual nature of these changes, it is more important to recognize the nature and implications of the changes that were, however slowly, revolutionizing the conditions of British industry. Large factories were beginning to take control of British manufacture, and a factory system implied a social revolution. Mills were employing already hundreds and sometimes thousands of workers; one mill in Glasgow in 1816 employed about four thousand. That mills or factories of this size were as yet exceptional is irrelevant. Other industries were showing similar tendencies, and, as the size and cost of machinery increased, such tendencies were inevitable. Warmley's ironworks in Gloucestershire employed eight hundred workers; Thomas Williams, who controlled two companies making copper goods in Anglesey, employed twelve hundred miners in the island, in addition to the workers employed in his works at Amlwch, St. Helens, Swansea, Greenfield, and Great Marlow. The famous Carron works which Roebuck had founded, given a new lease of

life by the demand for cannon during the Napoleonic Wars, employed two thousand workers at the end of the war. The new gas industry was unlikely to attract small investors, and most of the companies producing coal-gas were large and wealthy.

Changes Wrought by Steam

The use of steam-power led similarly, however gradually, to the squeezing out of the small master-industrialist. Used in the mines at first only for pumping, the steam-engine was, by about 1800, employed in most collieries for the winding of the cages. Blast furnaces had become dependent on them. Flour-mills and breweries in general were using them. *The Times* was printed by steam power, and other newspapers soon followed its example. With the nineteenth century, therefore, dawned in Britain the machine age, the steam age, the age of coal, iron, and steel, the age of the factory system of production.

The changes in agricultural and industrial procedure and organization outlined above, and the improvements in road- and water-transport, were not ends in themselves. The object of these active developments was the production and distribution of a greater quantity of goods to the monetary advantage of the master producer. For some goods there was already a demand which the old methods of production had failed to satisfy. New demands were created as new goods were produced, a tendency with which every advertiser is familiar. But, more especially, the concentration of industries in specialized localities, the rapid growth of industrial towns, and the consequent growth of interdependence produced by increased human and regional specialization, implied that such men and districts depended on the ability to buy goods which were no longer produced either by themselves or locally. The changes which had resulted from an increasing demand themselves led to a further increase in demand. There was, therefore, a great increase in trade, and a rapid development of the modern technique of trading.

The first to take advantage of the new opportunities was a large and varied class of middlemen, links in the frequently long chain between producer and consumer. One rapidly growing group of such middle-

men was that of the commercial travellers, who carried from town to town samples of the goods of the firms which employed them. In the early nineteenth century they were said to form more than half of the people to be found on the roads or in the inns. Some travelled with "engraved examples" or "pictorial representations" of the goods instead of with actual samples, and many firms, including Wedgwood's famous pottery firm, had begun to send such advertising material abroad. Sometimes the owners of small firms travelled in person; some larger firms employed numbers of such paid representatives.

Now, too, began to appear the department shops, the retail warehouses in which many varieties of goods were displayed for the convenience and "temptation" of customers. Shops were displaying samples of their more attractive goods in glass-fronted windows, and, in the large towns, shopping-streets were beginning to appear, brightened now by gas-lighting. Markets, with open stalls, were tending to concentrate on the display of meat, dairy produce, and vegetables, brought in fresh from the country along the new macadamized roads. Many towns began to build extensive and sometimes elaborate market-halls for this purpose. Potatoes were now being cultivated as field crops, and were brought into the town markets often from considerable distances. The cry of "Milk-O" which is heard today is a corruption of the "Milk-Below," which the house-to-house distributors cried as they brought the milk which could now come from fairly distant dairies.

Growth of "Middlemen"

Between the retailers and the producers there were, particularly in some trades, the wholesale merchants or factors who bought bulk quantities from the producers for resale to the smaller or local distributors. Most farmers, for example, sold grain to such factors. There were, too, the "jobbers" who in the Corn Exchange bought, before the "fair buyers," in order to resell at a profit, or to hold until the price had risen or been driven up.

In the coal trade, which was restricted by many old dues and traditional regulations, there were many strata of middlemen. There were the "great merchants,"

who bought in great quantities at the colliery; "second merchants," often owning their own barges, and trading between the collier ships and up-river wharves; "brass-plate merchants," who had offices in the towns and handled most of the domestic coal; and others who bought small quantities at the wharves and sold directly to the poorer households. At this time the south and east of England, from Plymouth to Kent, from London to the Wash, and the coastal area to the north, were supplied by the Northumberland and Durham coal-fields. Coal was the chief import of all the eastern and southern ports, and London's shipment alone approached in tonnage the whole of Britain's foreign trade in the first years of the nineteenth century.

Just as local internal specialization led to greater internal trading, so Britain's rapid growth into a specializing manufacturing nation led to the growing dependence of the nation on imported goods and overseas markets. Except for the East India Company, which was entering on its last trading phase, and a number of relatively unimportant companies of similar kind, Britain's overseas trade was run by private companies. Of the goods imported, timber was the only bulky commodity. The exhausted British forests could do little to cope with the demands of the Navy or of the builders in the rapidly growing towns, and large shipments of deal from Norway, oak from Sweden, mahogany from Jamaica, and walnut from Spain were frequently arriving in British ports. Napoleon's Continental Blockade virtually ended, at least for a time, the continental supply, and Britain began to look to Canada for her supplies of timber.

Other imported industrial materials were cotton, of which the American supply was rapidly increasing, Swedish iron for the Sheffield cutlery trade, and a small quantity of other metals, of hides, dyewoods, and indigo. Of imported foods and luxuries, the more important were sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, currants, oils, and spices. Corn imports were very erratic, especially after the passing of the Corn Law of 1815.

Britain paid for these imports mainly by exporting manufactured goods and a small quantity of raw materials. Nearly half her total export trade, in the 1820s, was of cotton goods. If woollen, silken, and linen goods are added to the cotton goods, the export of textiles formed about 70 per cent of the total export trade. Another 18 per cent was made up of raw materials, of which tin, copper, lead, a little iron and steel, slates, and china-clay were the most important, and some partly finished products, such as pig-iron. The rest was made up of a variety of small goods, of which hardware and cutlery were the most important. As yet there was not much foreign trade in machinery, but it had begun. By 1830 the total export trade totalled about £38,000,000. It was to reach its peak a century later when, including invisible exports, it enabled Britain to buy £1,200,000,000 worth of overseas goods, and to leave a credit balance of about £100,000,000.

In the meantime it is necessary to turn back to look at what was happening to the workers who, in this early and transitional period of industrial development, were being rapidly reduced to a state of wage-slavery in factory, workshop, and mine.

Test Yourself

1. Outline the main industrial changes which, in the eighteenth century, have been described as revolutionary.
2. Why did the mechanical revolution in the textile industries affect cotton manufacture more rapidly and extensively than woollen?
3. To what extent did the industrial revolution bring about a social revolution?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

CHAPTER XX

THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS

IN the background of the picture of rising industrial and commercial prosperity, of developing activity and invention, outlined in the previous pages, lurked the grim horror of the cruel exploitation of child labour. The following descriptions are intended to bring something of the nature of this heartless employment of infants and children more vividly to the reader than could a mere statement of the fact that children were so employed. To the possible criticism that such descriptions introduce sentiment into an historical narrative that should content itself with scientific statement the answer is that the incidents here described are based directly on the accepted evidence incorporated in the official report of a committee on factory children's labour, and that their truth, therefore, may be accepted beyond any reasonable doubt. To the possible criticism that specific instances cannot be accepted as evidence that conditions in general were of this nature, the answer is that there is ample evidence to imply that such conditions were general, and, notwithstanding possible variation, the worst conditions were tolerated for years. Before the committee which reported the following incidents met, thirty-six years had gone since an earlier committee had reported on "the untimely labour of the night and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to children," their "peculiar disposition to be affected by the contagion of fever," to the impaired strength of the children, and to the other effects of the employment of children under such conditions. A whole generation had gone by before the following incidents were reported.

It was during the "brisk" or busy time that the children and others employed in the mills of the West Riding were, for six weeks, tumbled out of bed at two o'clock in the morning. The children had to be vigorously shaken into wakefulness, for they had been in bed only since eleven

o'clock, three hours earlier, sometimes too exhausted to eat the food given to them. They were to be at the mill by three o'clock in the morning. For nineteen hours or more, for their day did not end until 10 or 10.30 p.m., they would work at the machines, without opportunity to sit or rest. Although in theory they were allowed a quarter of an hour for breakfast, half an hour for dinner, and a quarter of an hour for a drink, in practice these short periods were occupied with the compulsory cleaning and drying of the machines at which they worked. In the less busy periods work began at six o'clock and continued until eight-thirty in the evening, with the same periods of theoretical rest.

One child, named Ann Coulson, after five weeks in such a mill, was found by the overlooker at another worker's machine, uncertain as to what she should do. Startled by the overlooker's "Ann! What are you doing there?" Ann turned to reply. The child's finger was caught in the machinery, the nail was "screwed off below the knuckle," and at the Leeds Infirmary the finger was cut off at the second joint. Five weeks later she was back at the mill, having received no wages since the time of the accident. Some time later, herself helping on this occasion another child, she was ordered to "Drop this minute" what she was doing. As she did not immediately obey, Ann was strapped by the overlooker until her back was "beaten nearly to a jelly." Ann's father, giving evidence before the committee, stated that all his children had been strapped.

The long hours of labour at the machines, with no opportunity to sit, brought about horrible deformity after a few years. One boy, Edwin Sharpe, employed in a worsted factory, had been, as an infant, "a proverb for being active and straight," "able to run seven times round the extensive piece of ground in front of his house "without being much fatigued." After three years in



CHILD LABOUR IN THE COAL-MINES

The problem of the employment of women and children in the coal-mines under extremely bad conditions was one which caused much ill-feeling in the nineteenth century, and was only solved by slow degrees. Lord Shaftesbury, who took a prominent part in the legislation bearing on the conduct of the mines, is seen here in a Black Country pit observing conditions at first hand. Lord Shaftesbury's Bill was carried in 1842, but its operation was impeded and it was not until 1874 that reasonable conditions were assured for the workers.

the mill "he could scarcely walk." He had to crawl up the three steps into his home, and to drag himself into the house by holding the door. "Many a one advised me to take him away," said his father, "but I was a poor man, and could not afford to take him away, having a large family, six children, under my care." One of these six children, Barbara, who went to the mill when about seven years old, developed a similar weakness in the legs, which began to "bend outwards." The development of this type of deformity seems to have been very general. In one factory, of nine children who had entered the mill before the age of nine, all were deformed, and one of them was so "remarkably bow-legged" that, when speaking of her, the witness said: "I can hardly describe her deformity. . . . I have passed by, and thought that I was far from her, and have got on her shins as I

was going past her." Of fifty who had entered that particular mill, a "tow-mill," after the age of twelve, fourteen were bow-legged, two splay-footed, and one with her ankle wrong.

In the cotton, wool, and flax mills of Britain in the early nineteenth century there were hundreds of Ann Coulsons and Edwin Sharpes, spending their childhood under conditions of slavery under the tyranny of overseers paid on commission, standing for unconscionable hours in badly ventilated factories, passing from weariness to deformity, with no change other than that of a few hours of exhausted sleep.

Children of both sexes, and, of course, women, were employed also in the mines. The practice was general in the mines of East Scotland, common in South Wales, and frequent in the English mines. In the



IN A NORTHERN SLUM

London was not alone in having an intolerable number of slum dwellings towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Wherever the industrial revolution had led to a rapid increase and concentration of population the tendency was the same. The drawing above of a cotton-worker's home in Deansgate, Manchester, about 1876 is an apt commentary on this point. There was added distress owing to the fact that throughout the nineteenth century there were periodic slumps in the cotton industry.

Yorkshire mines in the south of the West Riding "there was no distinction of sex," reported the Children's Employment Commission on Mines in 1842. The report continued: "In great numbers of the coal-pits in this district the men work in a state of perfect nakedness, and are in this state assisted in their labour by females of all ages, from girls of six years old to women of twenty-one, these females being themselves quite naked down to the waist." In the conclusions which summarized the findings of this commission it was stated that children were taken into the mines "as early as four years of age . . . while from eight to nine is the ordinary age at which employment in these mines commences," and that "in several districts female children begin to work in these mines at the same early age as the males." It was added that the work in many cases amounted to "solitary confinement of the worst order," that many of the children never saw the

light of day for weeks together during the greater part of the winter season, except on Sundays; "that girls and boys, and the young men and young women, and even married women and women with child, commonly work almost naked, and the men, in many mines, quite naked"; that "when the workpeople are in full employment, the regular hours of work for children and young persons are rarely less than eleven . . . and in one district are generally fourteen and upwards; and that in the great majority of these mines night-work is a part of the ordinary system of labour."

Child labour was not new; nor was it confined to the mines and the textile factories. It could hardly have been worse anywhere than in some of the filthy little workshops of the Midlands, where in Dudley and Cradley Heath, for example, half-naked girls were turning out a thousand nails a day. The development of out-work meant the domestic employment of

children by parents driven by poverty or avarice to acts of cruelty which tradition condoned and ignorance accepted. It is important to remember that the children who survived these conditions, who knew no other conditions, and who knew of no other conditions, were themselves to become the parents of children whom they similarly employed or whom they sent into similar employment. The importance of this lies in the fact that where there were exceptions to these conditions of a cruel exploitation of child labour they were to be found in the bigger factories rather than in the tiny workshop or in the home of the outworker; the first reaction to these conditions came, as it had to come, from some more enlightened and humane factory-owners.

Apprenticeship Problems

The factors which were new in the situation were (1) the concentration of new, mechanized industries in the towns, where the evil conditions of large factories, the employment of children by people other than their parents, the cruelty of overseers paid on a commission basis, and similar contingent evils were, sooner or later, bound to awaken some indignant protest; and (2) the effects of the development of mechanized industries on the apprenticeship system. The second factor was to provide the means of giving effect to the protest; for apprenticeship in general, and the apprenticeship of pauper children, were legal responsibilities. From the time of the Elizabethan Poor Laws the parochial overseers had been saddled with the task of apprenticing pauper children to some trade or other. This task had become increasingly difficult. The skilled trades which offered reasonable prospects to the apprentice to achieve "master-craftsmanship" had been supplied by families willing and able to pay premiums for the apprenticeship of their children. They had rarely provided an opening for the pauper children, the orphaned and illegitimate children of the poor-houses. The new industries, looking for cheap labour, and, with increasing mechanization, requiring less and less skilled labour, provided an easy solution of the overseers' problem. Thus the "free" children who crowded the developing slums, alleys, and

courts of the growing industrial towns and the pauper "apprentices" lived, and even slept, by their machines, or were packed for the few hours of their night into crowded dormitories. It was for these, rather than for the thousands scattered in outworkers' hovels, that the first protests were made; for the Government could not disclaim responsibility for pauper apprentices even though it could claim that the responsibility of "free" children rested with their parents.

In 1784 Dr. Percival, of Manchester, began to agitate for improved conditions in the factories and to arouse some sympathetic action on behalf of the children employed in them. Nine years later the agitation bore its first fruit; an Act was passed in 1793 authorizing magistrates to fine factory owners for the maltreatment of apprentices. In 1795 the Manchester Board of Health was formed, and Dr. Percival brought before it the report of a committee on the condition of children in the Lancashire cotton factories, particularly the "large cotton factories established in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester." The report emphasized the rapid spread of infectious and contagious diseases under the crowded conditions of work in hot, damp, and impure atmosphere; the long hours of day- and night-work; the debarring of the children from "all opportunities of education," and from moral or religious instruction; and the belief that "many of these evils may, in a considerable degree, be obviated," on the evidence that "excellent regulations" subsisted in several cotton factories.

Good Employers the Exception

Such excellently regulated factories, however, continued to remain exceptional, and were likely to remain so without adequately enforced government action. The object of the factories was to make a profit, and it seemed reasonable to assume that the maximum profit implied the cheapest possible labour and the lowest possible overhead expenses. Any suggestion which implied increased costs was regarded as an unwarrantable interference with the freedom of the employer and with private enterprise. Cold logic and warm sentiment are as opposed as are "hard-headed"

business and soft-hearted human kindness, and the opposition to interference with the industrial conditions was strengthened by such academic reasoning as that of Parson Malthus, who denied the *right* of the poor to any subsistence which they could not purchase by their own work. Since the Elizabethan Poor Law it had been assumed by successive parliaments that those unable to maintain themselves must be maintained, and the responsibility for their maintenance had been delegated to the parishes. Malthus proposed to change the laws, and "formally to disclaim the *right* of the poor to support." Because the Poor Laws guaranteed at least some kind of subsistence to paupers, they led, he argued, to the uncontrolled increase of the population and thence to the consequent impoverishment of the nation. The conclusions which Malthus reached were false; but the reasoning sounded convincing, and stiffened the task of the reformers.

First Factory Act

A beginning had, however, already been made with the passing of the "Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others, employed in cotton and other mills, and cotton and other factories," in 1802. This Act, known as the First Factory Act, had been brought about mainly by the agitation of Sir Robert Peel, himself a factory owner, and the father of the Robert Peel who was to become a great reforming prime minister. When the Bill had been introduced, it had referred only to apprentices, and in the face of later acts it is interesting to observe that the important addition of the words "and others" was the result of the first amendment to the Bill.

The Act was to apply to all such mills and factories in Great Britain and Ireland in which three or more apprentices or twenty or more other persons were employed. They were to be whitewashed at least twice a year and adequately ventilated. The apprentices were to be supplied with two suits of clothes; they were to be employed for no more than twelve hours a day, exclusive of meal times, and not at all between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.; they were to have instructions in some part of each working day, attend divine service

at least once a month, and receive religious instruction for one hour every Sunday. No more than two apprentices were to sleep in a bed, and the dormitories for male and female apprentices were to be separate. Finally, the justices of the peace were to appoint two disinterested persons, one of whom should be a clergyman of the Established Church and the other a magistrate, to visit the factories.

It is to be noticed that, although the Act refers to children other than apprentices, the specific clauses relate only to apprentices, for these were more especially the Government's responsibility; the clothing, instruction, sleeping accommodation, and general care of the free children were the parents' responsibility. The Act, though it formed a precedent for parliamentary interference in the factories, was in itself largely inoperative. Speaking in 1816 before a committee investigating factory conditions, Richard Arkwright said of the Act of 1802 that "That Act has not been followed up, with respect to the visiting of magistrates, for these thirteen years. I think they visited my mills at Cromford twice." The Act gave no specific authority to visiting magistrates to change the conditions of employment of the "free" children, and on the plentiful supply of such children the employers increasingly depended.

The Example of Robert Owen

The next factory owner to champion the cause of the children, and indeed of the workers generally, was Robert Owen. Robert Owen, after leaving the village Dame School, had gone to London, found employment in a shop, saved enough money to go to Manchester, risen to a partnership in a thread-manufacturing company, visited, when travelling for the company, the famous mills of David Dale at New Lanark, married Dale's daughter, and became a partner in Dale's company. Against the opposition of other directors Owen had revolutionized conditions at the New Lanark Mills. No child under the age of ten was employed. The twelve hours of work of older children included genuine rest-times for meals. He founded schools for the children and opportunities for the instruction and healthy amusement of the older employees. Having won over the



A WARD IN MIDDLESEX HOSPITAL

Among the many social changes of the eighteenth century the development of the hospital system was one of the most important. The idea of treating sickness in a building specially set aside for the purpose originated in the Middle Ages. Even so, prior to 1710 it is recorded that at least twenty-three of the English counties were without any general hospital facilities. By the end of the eighteenth century all the county hospitals had been enlarged and their endowments increased. Intended only for the poorest class of the population, the hospitals in their earliest days, though conditions were often poor, achieved real progress in medicine.

workers by paying their wages during a period when the mill was closed, he insisted on the improvement and the cleanliness of their homes. Far from losing money in the process, Owen made a fortune. With the success of his New Lanark experiments as evidence, Owen turned to other factory owners and finally to the Government, hoping for the extension of his principles.

The Government was a reactionary one, frightened of popular movements because of the example of the French Revolution and the long wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France, only just concluded. In 1819, alarmed by the increasing agitation which widespread poverty, aggravated by post-war conditions, was generating, the Government passed the Six Acts, which suppressed public meetings, muzzled the Press, authorized magistrates to search for arms, and, in general, bludgeoned the distressed workers into at least a temporary silence. It was in this year, 1819, that the

second Factory Act, the Act for which Owen had agitated, was passed. Inevitably it disappointed him. The Act forbade the employment, in cotton factories, of children under nine years of age; Owen had hoped that ten would be the lowest age of employment. Such employment was not to exceed twelve hours a day, but this period was not, as Owen had hoped it would be, to include hours of meals. An additional hour's labour could be added to compensate for any loss of worktime due to loss of water supply or "every such case." Ceilings and inside walls were to be washed with quicklime and water twice in every year.

This Act, like that of 1802, was virtually inoperative, and, in six years, there were only two convictions under it. No salaried inspectors were appointed to enforce its provisions; there was no method of checking the hours of work; the word of parents was the only check on the age of children employed. And, even had the Act been

effective, it applied only to the cotton mills. The conditions described earlier in this chapter were those existing in the Yorkshire woollen and flax industries and in the ironworks and the mines a generation later. Rather half-hearted attempts to extend the principles of the Act were made in 1820 and 1825. By the Act of 1825 the working hours of persons under the age of sixteen, in cotton factories, were reduced to nine on Saturdays and to twelve on other days. Copies of this Act and that of 1819 were to be hung in factories to which they applied. Farther than this even Peel and Huskisson, who had brought into the Government a more humane and sympathetic spirit when they entered it in 1823, were unwilling to go. They expressed the general feeling that to interfere further with the cotton industry would be unwise, and were afraid to extend similar interference to other industries. Employers had stated that reduction in hours of work, and, therefore, of output, would involve reduction in wages, loss of trade, and possibly the closing of factories. The possible loss of trade outweighed most other considerations, and it was at least a plausible argument that children were better earning money, even under the existing conditions, than running aimlessly about the streets.

Agitating for Better Conditions

Such arguments, however, weighed little with the enthusiastic agitators for better conditions, and such men as Oastler, Owen, Hobhouse, Sadler, and Ashley Cooper would not be silenced. An interesting letter by Richard Oastler to the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* was published in that paper in October, 1830. It opened by quoting an extract from a speech by the Rev. R. W. Hamilton urging the abolition of Negro slavery in the British colonies. "It is the pride of Britain that a Slave cannot exist on her soil," had said the clergyman. Oastler wrote that no heart had responded to this appeal more fervently than his own, but he regretted that so admirable a principle had not been applied "to the whole Empire." "The pious and able champions of *Negro* liberty and *Colonial* rights," he continued, "before they had travelled so far as the West Indies, should . . . have sojourned in our immedi-

ate neighbourhood and have directed the attention of the meeting to scenes of misery, acts of oppression, and victims of Slavery, even on the threshold of our homes! . . . Thousands of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, both male and female, the inhabitants of a *Yorkshire-town* (Yorkshire now represented in Parliament by the giant of anti-slavery principles) (Brougham) are at this very moment existing in a state of slavery *more horrid* than are the victims of that hellish system—'Colonial Slavery.' The very streets which receive the droppings of an 'Anti-Slavery Society' are every morning wet with the tears of innocent victims at the accursed shrine of avarice, who are compelled, not by the cart-whip of the Negro slave-driver but by the dread of the equally appalling thong or strap of the overlooker, to hasten half-dressed, but not half-fed, to those magazines of British Infantic Slavery—the *Worsteds Mills in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford*! Thousands of little children, both male and female, *but principally female*, from *seven* to fourteen years, are daily *compelled to labour from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening with only—Britons blush whilst you read it!—with only thirty minutes allowed for eating and recreation.*"

Outworn Parliamentary System

Such appeals were unanswerable; but little more could be hoped from an outworn parliamentary system which was a virtual plutocracy made reactionary and tyrannical through fear. The movement for political reform was reaching a climax when Oastler's letter appeared. In 1831 the political reform bill was defeated by the Lords; in the same year another Factory Act did nothing effectively to change the conditions. In 1832 the first political Reform Act was passed; it ended the virtual political monopoly of the rural aristocracy, and introduced into the political arena the new aristocracy of the developing industrial towns. Many, like Cobbett, who had struggled over long years for this reform, and who expected an almost immediate end to Britain's miseries, were to be disappointed. The Government was still essentially plutocratic; but some changes were soon effected. In 1833, the year of the abolition of Negro slavery throughout the greater part of the British Empire, the



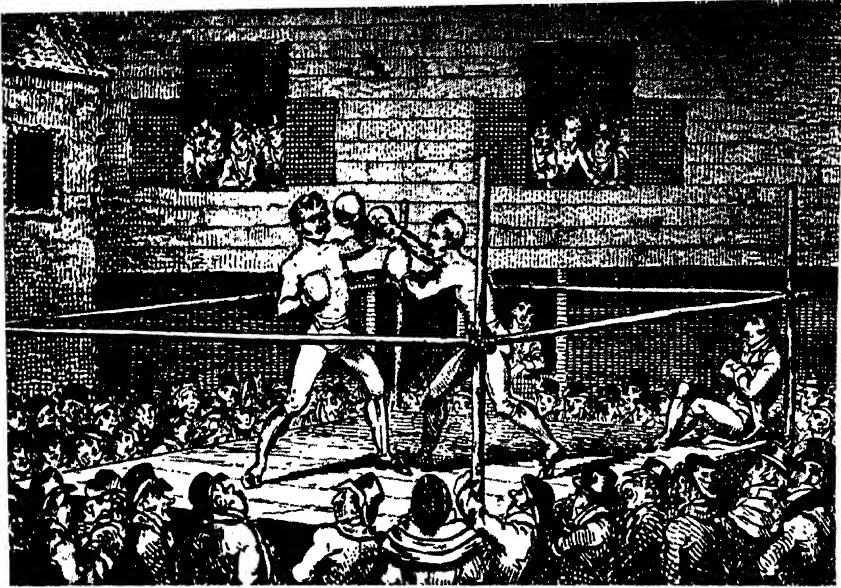
HIRING SERVANTS

The growth of industrial wealth during the second half of the eighteenth century, together with the building of an enormous number of large town and country houses, created a great demand for domestic servants. In the England derived from feudalism the great houses had recruited most of their servants from among the villagers. With the changed conditions the net had to be spread wider, and the custom arose for servants and labourers to present themselves at one or other of the statute fairs. This scene represents one of these fairs about 1840, those desiring to be hired carrying some utensil or implement to indicate their calling.

first really effective Factory Act was passed.

The Factory Act of 1833 related to the "Labour of Children and Young Persons" in the "cotton, woollen, worsted, hemp, flax, tow, linen, and silk" mills and factories of the United Kingdom. After 1 January, 1834, no child under nine years of age was to be employed in any such mill "except in mills for the manufacture of silk." No persons under eighteen years of age were to be employed in or about such factories between half-past eight o'clock in the evening and half-past five in the morning, or for more than twelve hours in any one day or more than sixty-nine hours in any one week, with an allow-

ance of one and a half hours daily for meals. A nine-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week were to be the maximum times of employment for eleven-year-old children after six months, for twelve-year-olds after eighteen months, and for thirteen-year-olds after thirty months had elapsed after the passing of the Act. Such children were to attend some school (in addition, of course, to their forty-eight hours' labour). The Act differed from earlier ones in that four government inspectors were to be appointed, with authority to enter any factory or mill, or school attached thereto, and to "make all such rules, regulations, and orders as may be necessary for the due



A SPARRING MATCH

This drawing by Cruikshank at the beginning of the nineteenth century shows that although the great period of prize-fighting had come to an end the more developed form of the sport was still extremely popular. Rules of the prize-ring were issued as early as 1743. For the following fifty years prize-fighting was well patronized. Later the sport fell into disrepute owing to its damaging effects on the contestants. The introduction of padded gloves did something to remedy the matter. Modern boxing with its strict rules and safeguards against serious injury dates from the drawing up of the Queensberry Rules which took place in 1864. The first contest under these rules was held in 1867.

execution of this Act," and to enforce the attendance at school of children employed in the factories.

Only four inspectors were appointed, the Act applied only to textile factories, and the sole evidence of a child's age was its parents' word. The Act, was, however, a great step forward. Eleven years later, Lord Ashley, who had brought forward the Bill in 1833, was proposing in the House that the word "night" should be taken to mean from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock the following morning; and that there should be a complete cessation of work for two hours a day for rest and refreshment, "with a view to effect a limitation of the hours of labour to ten in the day." In the course of the debate Lord Ashley said that in 1833 there were scarcely a dozen masters on his side; in 1844 he could count them by hundreds. That there was, however, very strong opposition to any further changes was apparent from the

same debate. The tree whose roots were being threatened was, said one, the tree of commercial greatness which had produced the greatness, wealth, prosperity, and power of the nation.

Foreign competition was such that industry could not stand a further reduction in the hours of labour, and any such further reduction must immediately lead to further reductions in wages. Statistical evidence was produced to establish the "indisputable principle" that "if the hours of working were reduced by one hour per day (prices remaining the same), net profit would be destroyed"; consequently, further reduction, far from benefiting the working-classes, would by the depreciation of manufactures inflict the greatest possible injury on the operatives. Another speaker argued that the Act of 1833 had proved impracticable, that the inspectors had affirmed that it could not be carried out, and that everybody who knew anything about the

manufactories of the North had known that the Act could not be fully carried out. No such Act, he added, could ever be fully carried out. "Why, then, render this impracticable Act more stringent?" Evidence was brought forward to show that "the health of the factory children" was "decidedly superior to that of the labouring poor otherwise employed." No one seems to have pointed out that any possible improvement in the health of children employed in the textile factories as compared with that of children employed in ironworks or mines was evidence that the Act of 1833, which had dealt only with textile mills and factories, had not altogether failed in its purpose. Perhaps the most interesting argument came from the developing "Free Trade" angle. "The noble lord," said Mr. John Bright, "is the representative of the sugar monopolists of Liverpool, and, after voting to deprive the people of sugar, he is perfectly consistent in denying them the liberty even to work. The people ask for freedom for their industry, for the removal of the shackles on their trade; you deny it to them, and then forbid them to labour, as if working less would give them more food, whilst your monopoly laws make food scarce and dear." Some of these plausible arguments have a very modern and familiar quality!

Restricting Employment of Women

The Act, passed in 1844 without the general amendment which had advocated a working-day of ten hours, was in one respect retrogressive. The minimum age for the employment of children in factories, which Owen had hoped would be ten years, which the Act of 1833 had fixed at nine years, was by this Act reduced to eight years. Evidence of age was to be provided by a "surgical certificate." More practicable opportunities for school attendance were provided, and precautions for the greater security of the children from accidents at the machines were to be taken. The restrictions on the employment of "young persons," that is, of girls and boys between thirteen and eighteen years of age, were by this Act extended to the employment of women of any age.

Two years earlier the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1842 had prohibited the

employment of women and girls in mines and collieries, and that of boys under ten years of age. The Act did not affect employment on the surface of a mine. An unspecified number of inspectors had the authority to "enter and examine such mine or colliery at all times and seasons."

Child Chimney-sweeps

The long struggle for the children was, very slowly, gaining ground over persistent opposition to interference by the Government with conditions of industry, rights of masters and parents, and the like. Many of the laws passed with difficulty after years of obstinate struggling were only partially effective because there was no effective executive machinery for carrying them out. Such was the case with the laws passed in the interests of the children employed to clean chimneys by being compelled to climb through them. Laws passed in their interest as early as 1788 had been ignored. Bills introduced between 1817 and 1819 had been thrown out by the Lords. An Act passed in 1834, one of the reforms of the first "Reformed Parliament," had forbidden the sending of a boy into a chimney on fire, and prohibited the apprenticeship of children under ten to chimney-sweeping. An Act of 1840 said that no one under twenty-one was to climb a chimney, and no boy under sixteen was to be apprenticed to a sweep. But there was nothing to prevent a sweep from employing "free" children, and nothing in practice to prevent his making them climb domestic flues. Of the fact that the practice continued, Charles Kingley's *Water Babies*, published in 1863, affords literary evidence, supported by the figures of the 1851 census at least to the extent that young children were still employed as sweeps. The census describes as such 192 under the age of ten, and 1,029 from the age of ten to fifteen.

The strength and nature of the opposition which those who had so determinedly struggled on behalf of the child-workers had had to overcome, and the subsequent evasion of the laws which had been passed with such difficulty, reveal the nature of the far harder task which faced the adult workers when they attempted the improvement of their own conditions of labour. They had to fight their own battle, and it



A PENNY GAFF

The Gaffs and Dukeys were a feature of nineteenth-century London. Often denounced as the haunts of criminals, they were patronized by working people, and plays given at them were usually in dumb show. One of the most remarkable and one of the oldest was the Rotunda in Blackfriars Road, pictured above. As the text accompanying the picture says: "We have upon more than one occasion directed attention to these dens of juvenile depravity and iniquity which have ever been hot-beds where the fungus crime is fostered." Juvenile delinquency is clearly not a problem only of the twentieth century.

was to be both hard and long. To follow their struggle it is necessary to retrace our steps over a few years.

No two artists will present an identical painting of the same landscape, for to each the several items fall into a pattern that is essentially an individual vision. Similarly, a picture of a period of life which the historian tries to present can never have the absolute impartiality and comprehensiveness of a photograph; like the painting, it expresses the pattern of life as it appears, in its essentials, to that particular writer. It is all too easy for the social historian of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to present a picture of workers' conditions which, while factually accurate, might suggest by its omissions or its

emphasis or its false perspective something essentially untrue. Not all employers were equally careless of their employees' welfare; not all members of the Government were equally reactionary; the age was not without its active humanitarians; not all agricultural labourers were as badly off as most of those in the southern districts; the purchasing power of wages in the early nineteenth century was in general higher than it had been before; the developing areas of congested industrialism were as yet confined to relatively small regions, to the cotton region of South Lancashire, the growing concentration of other textile manufactories, and the islands of industry which were beginning to blacken the Midlands. One could extend considerably such

indications that the picture was not wholly sombre; one could refer to them exclusively if one were discussing the stars rather than the blackness of the night, but notwithstanding the spots of light the general picture in its essential truth was black enough. The workers' lot had, of course, been bad before the economic "revolutions," and these were in the long run to raise the general standard of living enormously. But the first effects of the changes were shocking, and the attempts of workers to improve their conditions were, in general, and for a long time, vigorously and cruelly resisted. Workers were hanged or transported in chains to Australian convict settlements almost a hundred years after Kay's invention of the flying shuttle.

Cleavage Between Employer and Worker

The most fundamental general change was the rapid disintegration of society into groups whose interests were opposed. There had always been social distinctions, but now there was social cleavage. The old village community had accepted social distinctions while remaining a community essentially united; but the rural organism with large, capitalized farms, with production entirely directed by a profit-making motive, with a pauperized peasantry dependent partly on wages and partly on the rates, had created a social cleavage that was new. This cleavage between employer and employee was more marked in the industrial towns, particularly when the craftsman was being depressed into the mechanical labourer. In the towns it was also more noticeable, for there poverty was no longer the mark of a scattered body of labourers but the grievance of a class, housed in slums and barracks, and, by congestion, made articulate. The jerry-built, unplanned, shoddy industrial towns, without sanitation, merely utilitarian in conception, were nobody's business. National and municipal government was still the virtual monopoly of a rural aristocracy which had no intention of violating its principle of *laissez faire* to interfere with the industrial towns.

While the poor were, in general, becoming poorer, the wealthy were growing richer. A cynical repression of the worker becomes intolerable when it is accompanied by a

luxurious dalliance and extravagant dandyism. The coronation of George IV is said to have cost £243,000; a year before at Manchester the cavalry had charged with drawn sabres into a throng of workers met to urge the abolition of the Corn Law and to reform a system of government that was already the monopoly of a privileged aristocracy. Superficially at least the conditions were rapidly beginning to resemble those of pre-revolutionary France, and it was easy to condemn the growing agitation as mere "Jacobinism."

This was not the only developing cleavage. The progressive Whig landowners who had captured the control of the Government a century earlier had hardened into a reactionary Tory body, determined to retain its control against the upstart industrial magnates. While the merchants and manufacturers condemned the landowners for ruining the home markets by their Corn Laws, the agriculturalists denounced the industrialists for the factory system which, in its effects, was driving the people into revolution.

Social Disintegration

The Napoleonic Wars exaggerated these differences. While the temporary restrictions on European production had created profit-making opportunities for the British farmer and manufacturer, they had led to no corresponding improvement in the conditions of the workers. Napoleon's Continental Blockade, the war against the newly formed United States, 1812-14, the uncontrolled expansion of paper currency, heavy taxation to meet the costs of war, and many other such factors, had contributed to send up prices, depress wages, increase unemployment, at the very time when machinery was replacing skilled labour. The usual post-war conditions, the Corn Law, the heavy burden of the National Debt, and the virtual dependence on import duties to meet national expenditure—for Pitt's Income Tax was hurriedly dropped when the war ended—added to the general depression without materially affecting the relative wealth and security of employers.

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of this social disintegration was that it was hardening into a class-consciousness which

was being embittered by the reactionary policy of a government driven by recent experiences into fear of "the revolutionary monster." In the eyes of the government in general the question was not as to whether the agitation was the inevitable outcome of genuine grievances which should have been remedied, but what were the most effective means of silencing a riotous and revolutionary threat to the national security and to privileged authority.

Combinations of Workers

Any action for the improvement of wages or of working conditions taken by the workers against a profit-making hierarchy of employers supported by a reactionary and plutocratic government involved the union of the workers and a determined readiness to risk death, transportation, or imprisonment. Such combinations were relatively new, the product of the conditions outlined above, and quite different from the older craft guilds. These had been combinations of masters and journeymen, formed with the objects of safeguarding the secrets of their craft, for securing themselves and their dependants, for supervising quality, price, and wages, and for the general control of the industry. The early guilds were not societies of men against masters, because there was neither division of interest nor of class between the masters and the fellow-craftsmen who hoped themselves to become master-craftsmen.

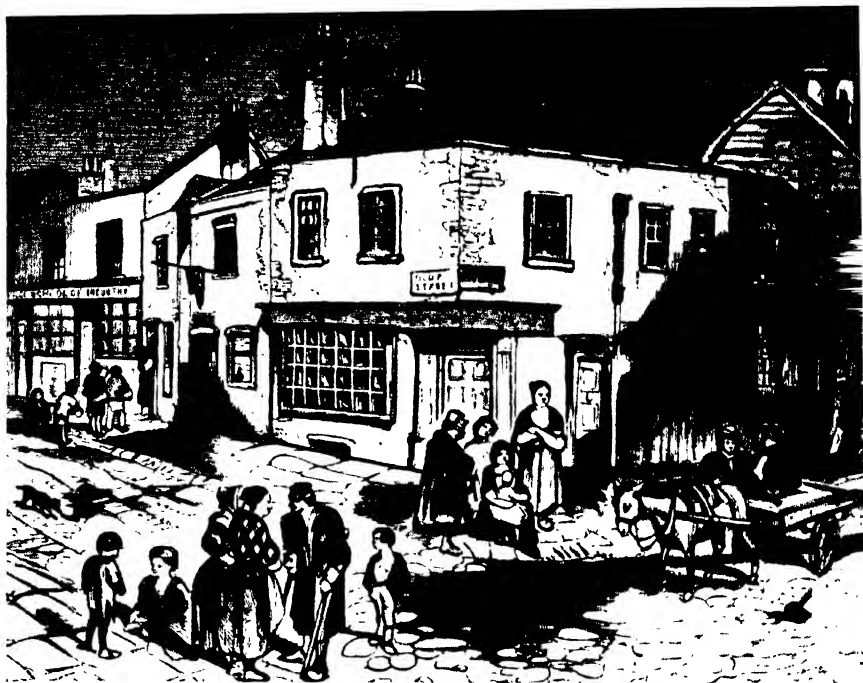
The distinction between master and worker had, however, begun to emerge long before the "industrial revolution," and in the seventeenth century men had begun to form trade clubs for the improvement of working conditions. The London Printers formed a chapel in 1666. In 1676 the Journeymen Feltmakers of London, already a well-organized body of craftsmen, "resolved among themselves not to accept any less wages for making hats than what they formerly received, and desire that the late order for lessening their wages may be set aside." After a three years' struggle the journeymen were compelled to declare their "hearty and unfeigned sorrow" for the "conspiracy," and to promise to discourage and prevent any such conspiracy and combination in the future.

With the development of mercantilist

principles in the eighteenth century the interest of masters was increasingly concentrated on amount of profit, and the tendency of journeymen to take combined action increased accordingly. In 1720 the Journeymen Tailors of London "to the number of seven thousand and upwards," entered into a combination to raise their wages and to "leave off working an hour sooner than they used to do." The Master Tailors replied by sending a petition to parliament; it described "the great abuses" committed by the journeymen, referred to the collection of "great sums of money to support their unlawful combinations and confederacies," and, as a revelation of the extent to which the tendency was spreading, it referred to "the very ill example to journeymen in other trades." The masters stated that "the journeymen curriers, smiths, farriers, sail-makers, coach-makers, and artificers of divers other arts and misteries" had already "entered into confederacies of the like nature," and that "the journeymen carpenters, bricklayers, and joiners" had taken steps for that purpose. A committee of the House of Commons reported that the masters had fully proved their allegations, and, when the journeymen petitioned the House in reply, an Act was passed declaring combinations among the journeymen tailors of London unlawful, and fixing both hours of labour and maximum wages.

"Conspiracies and Confederacies"

The view that such combinations of workers were "conspiracies and confederacies" made them indictable under various medieval acts of conspiracy, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution the continued agitation of British workers was viewed with greater alarm. In 1793 the French king was guillotined. In 1795 George III was attacked by a London mob on his way to parliament, and the Government was not in a mood to distinguish between political rioting and combinations of workers petitioning for better wages and working conditions. Two Acts were hurried through parliament, though they were vigorously opposed by a small minority as an unnecessary and reactionary destruction of elementary constitutional rights. The first extended the conception of, and the



NINETEENTH-CENTURY TOWN LIFE

Few would recognize in the above print a part of the City of Westminster drawn only a century ago. Until near the end of the nineteenth century Westminster, particularly in the vicinity of the Abbey, was notorious for possessing some of the worst slums in London. The great slum-clearance schemes towards the end of the century were most important milestones in the development of London administration. The print shows Old Pye Street and the Refuge School of Industry about 1850.

penalties for, treasonable and seditious practices; the second virtually suspended the right of the people to hold public meetings or publicly to discuss grievances. Four years later the first of the Acts directed specifically against combinations of workers was passed.

The Act of 1799, "to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen," made null and void all agreements made for the increase of wages or for the reduction of hours of work and quantity of output; workers entering into such agreements or combinations, or "endeavouring to prevent others from hiring themselves," or attending or persuading others to attend a meeting for such purposes, were "made liable to three months' imprisonment in common gaol or two months in the house of correction."

This Act, hurriedly passed in the last

session of 1799, was replaced in the following year by one much more elaborately devised, "for the more effectual suppression of all combinations amongst journeymen, workmen, and other persons employed in any manufacture, trade or business." Any money contributed toward any of the purposes prohibited was declared forfeit.

It is a point of interest that, though the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 limited the term of imprisonment for violation of the Acts to three months "in the common gaol" or to two months "in the house of correction," workers who had done nothing more serious than attempt to negotiate with their masters for higher wages were given long terms of imprisonment. On one occasion a number of printers, acting as delegates for their fellows, were sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The



A WATCHMAN

The traditional method of policing London and other large towns was by "watch," but until the middle of the eighteenth century when Henry Fielding was established at Bow Street the watchmen were poorly organized, they had no certainty of receiving their pay or uniform, and as a result were most ineffective. Even after the Bow Street constables had been organized by Fielding about one in twenty of the population of London lived by criminal means.

legal excuse for such persecution was that such cases were not tried upon the Combination Laws but upon the old common law for conspiracy.

Such repressive action, unaccompanied by any reform of the conditions which had created the discontent, simply had the effect of driving the agitation underground. The unions of workers did not cease to be

formed; they became revolutionary bodies, compelled to meet in secret, and, lest they should be betrayed, they tended to adopt the secret oaths and rituals of revolutionary secret societies. As such they were far more dangerous and, to a government still struggling with a revolutionary France, more alarming. Agitation which had begun as an expression of economic and social grievance was merging inevitably into a political and revolutionary agitation, because the short-sighted policy of the Government was revealed as an unyielding obstacle not only to reform but even to the public utterance of grievance.

Spreading Unrest

In 1816, on 15 November, a public meeting was held in Spa Fields, Bermondsey, to voice the sufferings of "the distressed manufacturers and artisans." A week later the Corporation of London formally addressed the Prince Regent, declaring that the accumulated misery and distress had become insupportable, that "the commercial, the manufacturing, and the agricultural interests were equally sinking under its irresistible pressure," and that "above all" the general misery was due to "the corrupt and inadequate state of the representation of the people in parliament." In December the mob which had met in Spa Fields met there again, sacked a gunsmith's shop, and invaded the Royal Exchange. The agitation spread in 1817 to the North and the Midlands. In March, Manchester workers, whose meetings had been dispersed, began to walk to London, carrying blankets for their wayside sleeping. They were dispersed after a few miles of their trek. Armed rioters in Derbyshire and Nottingham were charged by the Yeomanry, and the leaders were executed.

After a momentary lull the agitations broke out afresh in 1819, and meetings varying in temper but all grim and determined were held in most of the industrial areas. The most unfortunate was that of the Manchester workers, who had met in St. Peter's Fields. Many of the banners carried by the thousands who had marched to Manchester illustrated the conviction that no redress could be expected until the system of government had been changed. "Annual Parliaments," "Universal Suf-

frage," "Vote by Ballot" were already becoming popular slogans. Although it is said that some eighty thousand people were present, the meeting was orderly; but the chairman, "Orator" Hunt, had hardly begun his opening address when the Yeomanry, with drawn sabres, charged through the crowd to arrest him. Some of the crowd were sabred, others trampled to death, many injured. Although the actual number killed was few, probably some half-dozen, the effect of the "Peterloo Massacre," particularly when the action of the magistrates and the Yeomanry was accorded the "high approbation" of the Prince Regent and approved "with great satisfaction" by the Government, was to give the popular agitation a widespread sympathy it had not had before. What thousands of people outside the ranks of the workers were thinking was expressed by the assertion of the Common Council of London, that it was the "undoubted right of Englishmen to assembl together for the purpose of deliberating upon public grievances." The Government thought otherwise and, in 1819, passed the famous "Six Acts." They were respectively (1) to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour; (2) to prevent training in the use of arms except in the national service; (3) to prevent and punish the writing of blasphemous and seditious libels; (4) to authorize magistrates to seize arms; (5) to restrict the publication of periodicals by the imposition of a stamp duty; and (6) more effectually to prevent seditious meetings and assemblies.

Some Justified Restraints

It would be unjust to criticize the Government for the passing of three of these Acts, for it is obviously undesirable that there should be unnecessary delay in the administration of justice or that any general possession of firearms should be tolerated. Nor can the Government's determination to repress insurrectionary movements before a state of complete anarchy is reached be justly condemned. The Government's unforgivable sin was to have turned an obstinately deaf ear to just grievances legitimately expressed until a revolutionary situation had been created. Economic and social sores had festered into political



A PEELER

In 1829 Sir Robert Peel founded the nucleus of a Metropolitan Police Force; his new band of well-uniformed and well-paid constables were called variously "bobbies" or "peelers." The efficiency of the new force was shown in the increase of the number of criminals convicted and the speedy reduction in offences which followed its establishment.

malignancy, and a cure could not be effected by gagging the noisily discontented sufferer.

In 1822 and 1823 some of the more reactionary members of the Government were replaced by younger men, mostly economists, who believed that reforms which would alleviate some of the worst economic distress and remedy some of the worst social evils would end the political unrest. Reference will be made later to some of the financial and fiscal reforms for which Huskisson, at the Board of Trade, and "Prosperity" Robinson, as Chancellor of

the Exchequer, were responsible. The National Debt was reduced, and with it the burden of taxation; the removal of some of the obsolete stumbling-blocks to international trade, and the reform of the chaotic and burdensome tariff system, pointed the way to a more enlightened national economy. Peel, the new Home Secretary, brought into effect the reforms of the criminal law and of the prisons for which Romilly, Mackintosh, and others had long been struggling. The death penalty, which previously could have been inflicted for about two hundred offences, from petty theft to treason, was to be reserved for serious felonies. The gaols, a barbarous abomination, were reformed, criminal procedure was simplified and defined, and a Metropolitan Police Force was founded. "Peelers" or "Bobbies" were soon to be introduced in other towns, and to prove a far more effective means of maintaining order than an armed Yeomanry, which could take action only when ordered to do so when a state of emergency had already developed.

Repeal of the Combination Laws

This replacement of some of the older Tory "die-hards" by more socially sympathetic ministers encouraged the belief that the Government might be persuaded to change its policy toward the workers. Foremost amongst those who held the view that repression was responsible for revolutionary tactics was Francis Place, a tailor of Charing Cross. In the political discussions which had been regularly taking place in his shop, Place expressed a view that the Combination Laws had not only failed to prevent the union of workers but, by driving them underground as revolutionary political societies, had created a worse evil. Amongst the Radical members of parliament who regularly attended the unofficial meetings inspired by the breeches-maker, the most influential was Joseph Hume. He succeeded in obtaining a Royal Commission, under his chairmanship, to examine the question of workers' unions and other relevant matters. The witnesses were drilled and entertained by Francis Place, and the Commission reported that the Combination Laws had not only proved ineffective but, on the contrary, "had had

the tendency to produce mutual irritation and distrust, to give a violent character to the combinations, and to render them highly dangerous to the community." Accordingly, in June, 1824, the Combination Laws were repealed, and masters or workmen were left entirely free to combine.

Outbreak of Rioting

To Huskisson and to many others this complete reversal of policy, practically smuggled through parliament with a number of relatively insignificant measures, seemed dangerously sudden. The immediate outbreak of rioting and strikes, the emergence of workers' societies from garret and cellar, and the creation of new ones in every industrial area, alarmed employers and ministers alike, as it disappointed the Radicals, who had failed to realize that the political agitation was directed against a parliamentary system which had failed to provide any remedy for genuine economic and social grievances. Employers demanded the appointment of a second Commission, and on its reporting that combinations had proved "injurious to trade and commerce, dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, and especially prejudicial to the interests of all who were concerned in them," a new Act was passed, reimposing restrictions on the actions of workers.

The Combinations Act of 1825 did not undo all that the Act of 1824 had done. The old penalties were restored for any form of direct action or even for the peaceful persuasion of fellow-workers to join movements or bodies which had such purpose. Violence, intimidation, acts of destruction, or of obstruction, were again made criminal offences. But combinations of workers were no longer prohibited; they were simply made useless, for, except for permission to discuss matters of wages and the like, their members were left with no form of action which was not in itself unlawful. The Act did not imply any legal recognition for any Trade Unions, though it did not make their formation criminal; consequently, such unions when formed did not share the benefits of Friendly Societies. Members of a society which had no legal existence could not, for example, make any legal claim for the return of funds stolen by a dishonest treasurer.



ELECTION IN NOTTINGHAM

This almost unbelievable but authentic drawing shows an election scene in the market-place at Nottingham in 1865. Like many other industrial towns, Nottingham was frequently the scene of serious riots during the nineteenth century, including the Reform riots of 1831 and others. The elections in 1865, the year of Palmerston's death, were marked by scenes of disorder in many parts of the country, but nowhere were the riots more severe than in Nottingham, where something very like a pitched battle is seen in progress.

How little the situation was really changed was revealed a few years later when the starving rural peasantry of the south were driven into desperate revolt. To the few shillings which formed their weekly wage, and which the poor rates eked out, they had added a little at harvest-time. The introduction of threshing machines threatened to reduce still farther what seemed already an irreducible minimum of income. The movement spread from Kent, through Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, marked with the destruction of threshing-machines and demands for higher wages. Though many farmers agreed to the labourers' demands,

many turned for compensation to their own landlords, asking for reduced rents and tithes. The movement which had begun in October, 1830, was over before Christmas; but the Government had not forgotten its fear of revolution and took drastic action. Though no person had been killed in the rioting, those who had taken part in the agitation were brought before a special commission of judges, and under an old Conspiracy Act were, sometimes in batches of a hundred at a time, sentenced to death. Usually this sentence was changed to transportation to the convict settlements of Australia, and this in practice usually meant transportation for life. It would be

difficult to imagine any action which could have afforded more convincing evidence that there could be no adequate remedial social legislation until the Government had ceased to be the monopoly of a privileged and generally unsympathetic oligarchy. William Cobbett, who had been arrested for supporting the "rebels" of 1830, but who had been released because of the disagreement of the jury, had long been urging in his *Political Register* necessity of reforming a parliamentary system that was both corrupt, partial, and unrepresentative of the country. After 1830 the widespread determination to break down what seemed to be the political barrier to general reform was such that some reform of the parliamentary system could not have been safely delayed much longer.

In the House of Commons sat two representatives of each county and representatives of a number of parliamentary boroughs. In early times the monarch had decided which boroughs should return members, but since the early seventeenth century the boroughs which had this privilege had become fixed, and the only important changes in the composition of the House were those which followed the political unions of England with Scotland and Ireland. Of the two hundred and three boroughs represented in 1831 many had ceased even to be villages. Depopulated hamlets, scarcely distinguishable as such, returned one or two members, while Birmingham, with a quarter of a million inhabitants, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Halifax, Bolton, Bradford, and other active centres of industry of relatively recent growth, were unrepresented in parliament. In 1793 the Society of the Friends of the People had alleged that seventy of the represented boroughs had practically no electors at all.

No Uniform Electoral System

There was no uniform system of election. In some boroughs voting was the right of hereditary freeholders. In Gatton, which was such a borough, there were seven who had this privilege; in Tavistock there were ten. In some the hereditary "freemen" had the vote; in others it was the monopoly of the "potwallopers" or hearth-owners. Many were simply nominated by land-

owners, and in 1821 Sydney Smith alleged that "The country belongs to the Duke of Rutland, Lord Lonsdale, the Duke of Newcastle, and about twenty other holders of boroughs." It is true, at least, that the Duke of Newcastle returned eleven members, Lord Lonsdale nine, the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Buckingham, and Lord Carrington six each, that two hundred or so of the members were the nominees of wealthy commoners. A seat in parliament was openly regarded as a purchasable privilege, and "borough-mongering" was a recognized practice. County representation was not exempt from this form of corruption, and in 1807 the representation of Yorkshire is said to have cost the contestants £200,000!

Urgent Need of Reform

While, therefore, the need for parliamentary reform was obvious and urgent, urgent because of the rapid growth and national importance of the industrial towns which were unrepresented except indirectly as parts of the counties in which they were situated, the agitation for parliamentary reform was mainly inspired by the hope that a more representative government would be more sympathetic to popular grievances. A Bill, introduced by Lord John Russell in April, 1831, alarmed the borough-mongers and was rejected. Parliament was dissolved and an appeal was made to the country. A wild excitement marked the election and, when parliament reassembled, a new Bill was passed by the House of Commons, only to be thrown out by the Lords! Riots, noisy meetings, and violent agitation expressed the nation's reaction. A mob broke the windows of the Duke of Wellington's house; even the army was affected; there was a possibility of civil war. When the Lords remained obstinately opposed to the measure the threat that sufficient peers would be created to ensure its passing alarmed them into submission. The "Die-hards" refrained from voting, and on 7 June, 1832, the Bill became law. The bonfires and similar expressions of popular jubilation which accompanied the passing of the Bill all over the country were not an expression of academic passion for political integrity; they expressed the naïve belief that the reformed parliament



CHARTIST PETITION, 1842

One of the legacies of the industrial revolution was a genuine social cleavage, where before there had been a considerable loyalty between the various groups of society. The combination of capitalistic farms and capitalistic factories produced an entirely new temper in the State, and led, especially in the large towns, to the workers feeling themselves enslaved to their employers. Chartism was a symptom of this disease. The basis of the movement was the People's Charter, which, amongst other reforms, advocated the introduction of universal suffrage. A petition embodying the charter was passed from house to house, and, with 1,200,000 signatures attached, the "great national petition" was taken to Parliament in 1839. It was rejected, as was the second petition of 1842, which was carried to Westminster in the procession illustrated above.

would end the economic and social grievances of the workers.

What the Great Reform Act of 1832 did, beyond its introduction of a uniform electoral system, was to extend political representation to the industrial towns and to the wealthy bourgeoisie. Boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants were disfranchised, and those with less than four thousand lost one of their two representatives. The seats thus vacated were distributed amongst the counties and the previously unrepresented or inadequately represented towns, which included eight Scottish and five Irish boroughs. The English county franchise was extended to include copyholders and long leaseholders who paid an annual rental not less than £10, and short leaseholders and tenants who paid £50 or more annually in rent. In Scotland and Ireland these qualifying con-

ditions were modified. In the towns the payment of an annual rent of not less than £10, which at that time meant only the relatively wealthy, was the qualification for inclusion in the political register which for the first time was to be drawn up. The Act added nearly half a million electors to the hundred and sixty thousand who had previously had the right to vote, an increase of the electorate of from one to three per cent of the population.

The first reformed parliament met in February, 1833, under the premiership of Lord Grey, but under the virtual control of Robert Peel, who claimed that his object was "to make the Reform Bill work," and to protect the "authors of the evil from the work of their own hands." To Cobbett, who sat in the House, and who had expected so much from the political changes for which he had toiled so long, it soon

became apparent that no revolutionary reforms were to be expected from a parliament which still represented only the wealthy minority of the nation. The reforms which were passed were important and urgent; but they were not the reforms which the general body of workers expected.

Money for Elementary Education

The early reforms of the new parliament included the granting of a new charter to the East India Company, which was to confine its future activities to the administration of the regions over which it gained political sovereignty. The Bank of England was granted a new charter with slightly modified conditions. The judicial procedure of the Privy Council was improved, and a further legal reform simplified the conveyance of land. A very important precedent was created by the grant of £20,000 in aid of elementary education, the fund to be entrusted to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society which had been doing the work voluntarily for over twenty years. None of the money was to be spent on buildings, and a condition of the grant was that an equal sum had to be subscribed by voluntary contributions. The Factory Act of 1833, to which earlier reference has been made, reduced the hours of child labour and that of "young persons" in textile factories, and appointed paid inspectors, though four only, to see that the provisions of the Act were carried out. In 1834, as a fine humanitarian gesture, and with no consideration of its economic repercussions, the Government abolished slavery in the Empire, and awarded the slave owners £20,000,000 in compensation.

Excellent and desirable as were these reforms, none of them touched directly the living conditions which had provoked the workers' agitation. That voluntary efforts to educate the children of the poor should at last have aroused the interest of the Government sufficiently for it to provide a small annual contribution to the effort was admirable; but the children of the poor were hungry. They still had to work unconscionable hours in mines, ironworks, and, notwithstanding the new Factory Act, in textile factories. Though no one could reasonably object to the abolition of Negro

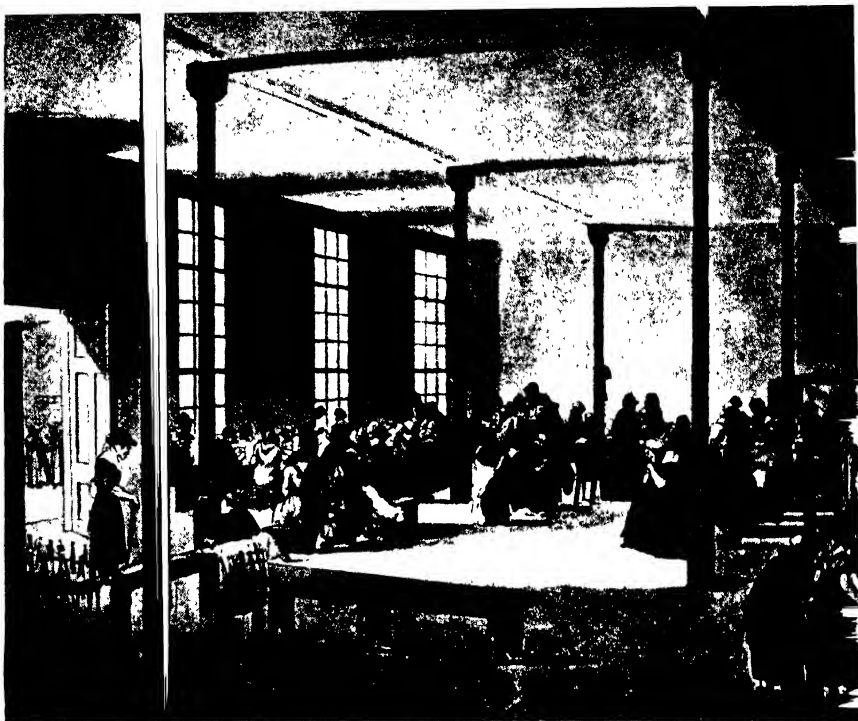
slavery in Jamaica or South Africa, it could be reasonably objected that there was still white slavery at home. It was, however, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which proved the final disappointment and which roused the wrath of Cobbett.

The existing system of poor relief, which was discussed in earlier pages, was bad, particularly in its tendency to induce employers and employees alike to rely on the poor-rate to bring up wages to subsistence level. Whatever might have been the case when the Elizabethan Poor Law assigned to the parishes the care of their poor, or when Defoe argued that in England a "man of sound limbs and senses" could be poor only if he were slothful, it was no longer true that poverty implied either impotence or laziness. It did not even imply unemployment. Yet, when the Royal Commission, appointed in 1832 to inquire into the Poor Law, issued its report two years later, all the recommendations imply the assumption that if an able-bodied worker were poor it was his or her own fault. Not only was "all relief to able-bodied persons or to their families, otherwise than in well-regulated workhouses" to be declared unlawful; the report emphasized, as "the first and most essential condition" that the state of a person receiving relief should "not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class." In such workhouses, into which the poor had to go or starve, the able-bodied were to be subjected to "such courses of labour and discipline as will repel the indolent and vicious."

Amendment of the Poor Law

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 embodied these recommendations. Three Commissioners were appointed by the Crown to administer the Act, and they were empowered to form "unions of parishes," of which the ratepayers and owners of property were to elect for each such union a Board of Guardians of the poor. The workhouses of each such union were to be governed, and the relief of the poor in each such union was to be administered, by the Guardians.

The prohibition of outdoor relief had the



WORKHOUSE SCENE

The Poor Relief Act of 1601 was the origin of the workhouse. A number were established in the succeeding hundred years, but it was not until the eighteenth century that the erection and manning of workhouses in towns and rural parishes was carried out to a methodical plan. At the beginning of the nineteenth century their administration was often brutally hard. The management was more strictly supervised after 1834, when a real effort was made to revise the whole system. The drawing reproduced shows visiting day in a typical workhouse, and is taken from Rowlandson's Microcosm of London, published in 1808.

effect, in time, of compelling employers to pay adequate wages, but its immediate effect was to make the conditions of the poor worse than they had been before, and the Act became known as "The Poor Man's Robbery Bill." The conditions of the workhouses, which the report had advised should be "less eligible" than those of the lowest class of independent labourer, constituted a more lasting grievance.

In 1835 the new, grim, prison-like workhouses began to appear in the "unions," and all in need of relief had to pass through their gates, except widows with homes and a few other classes of impoverished women. Into such workhouses had to go the aged and impotent, the imbecile, children, and the unemployed able-bodied.

While the members of a family were separated by the division of the workhouse into dormitories and day-rooms for male and female inmates, a very varied group of people formed the population of each department. As late as 1909 it was written of the women's department of a union workhouse that: "The young servant out of place, the feeble-minded woman of any age, the girl with her first baby, the senile, the paralytic, the epileptic, the respectable deserted wife, the widow to whom outdoor relief has been refused, are all herded indiscriminately together." The food was mainly gruel or "skilly," a thin soup of oatmeal and water flavoured with meat, and there must have been many who, like Oliver Twist, longed for more of even so



CHARTIST MEETING OF 1848

Although the rejection of the Petition of 1842 (see text below) seems effectively to have quenched the spirit of chartism, there was still a smouldering fire of resentment which flared up again in 1848 when a fresh petition was promoted, said by its sponsors to have six million signatures. The Government later announced that the petition contained only two million signatures, many of them spurious. The rejection of this petition, like the two earlier ones, was a foregone conclusion. Once more Parliament's direct refusal to consider the principles of chartism led to a period of decline in the fortunes of the movement.

unappetizing a broth. The general reaction of the poor to the new régime of relief was expressed in the term "Bastilles" which stigmatized the "Houses" as symbols of oppression.

The workers whose agitation had contributed to the making of a reformed and more widely representative parliament felt that they had been betrayed. It was felt that no help could be expected from parliament until the workers themselves could have representatives in the House, and could vote themselves for such representatives without intimidation and, therefore, in secrecy. Shortly after the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 a number of Members of Parliament who agreed with the workers' view moved a resolution that voting at elections should be by secret ballot, that elections should be held at shorter intervals, and that the franchise should be widely extended. Only twenty members supported the proposals, and an

agitation for workers' representation began to spread.

When the movement had crystallized into a specific agitation it became known as Chartism, because the changes demanded were embodied in a "People's Charter." The six "points" of the charter were: (1) that every man of full age should have a vote; (2) that Parliament should be re-elected annually; (3) that voting at parliamentary elections should be by secret ballot; (4) that men who had not the property qualification should be eligible for parliamentary election; (5) that, to make it possible for poor men to sit in the House, members should be paid; and (6) that the country should be divided into equal electoral districts.

Some Chartists, particularly in the bigger industrial towns, believed that only force could succeed in carrying the points of the Charter through parliament, and, under such leaders as Stephens, who per-

sueded men to attack and burn factories, or Feargus O'Connor, whose newspaper, the *Northern Star*, urged the workers to violence, active agitation began to spread. Others felt that more persuasive methods were more likely to succeed, and a monster petition, embodying the points of the Charter, was prepared by passing pieces of parchment from house to house for the householder's signature. The resultant document, "as large as a cart-wheel," had to be rolled into the House of Commons, where it was greeted with laughter. A motion for a Select Committee to consider the petition was rejected on 14 June, 1839, by 235 votes to 46. The "Physical Force Chartists," strengthened by this contemptuous treatment of a popular petition which had been constitutionally, if rather foolishly, presented, increased its acts of violence. Rioting and looting in Birmingham were suppressed on two occasions by the use of the cavalry, and outbreaks hardly less violent occurred in many other industrial towns. For some years such revolutionary agitation flared up from time to time, but the remedy for popular grievances was not to be found in this way.

In the meantime another form of direct action had failed. Disliking political agitation and distrusting parliament, a number of leaders of industry, sympathetic to the workers' ideals, tried to organize nation-wide unions of workers, which by their strength would prove the value of labour in national industry. John Doherty, secretary to the Manchester Cotton-Spinners, founded the Grand General Union of the United Kingdom. This was followed by the National Association for the Protection of Labour, the Grand National Guild of Builders, and, in 1834, by the most formidable of them, Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, the

membership of which reached half a million in a few months.

Because of the opposition of the Government and of employers these unions adopted the technique of secret societies, with initiation ceremonies, oaths, ritualism and the like, behind locked doors. In the days when intercommunication between different parts of the country depended on the actual carrying of messages, the only means of organizing any nation-wide action for such a union was to pass orders directly at a central Grand Lodge to the representatives of District or Provincial Lodges, who in turn would pass them on to the local Lodges. Owen had hoped to use the G.N.C.T.U. to prove the value of labour in a peaceful way by ordering all the members to cease work for a "sacred month," during which there was to be no violence. In spite of all the administrative organization and the enthusiasm of the leaders, the scheme was impracticable. Workers even suspected of belonging to the Union were dismissed, and a month without work would have meant starvation. The Government, however, was alarmed, and decided to strike vigorously before the Union was ready to act. A number of agricultural labourers of the village of Tolpuddle in Dorsetshire were tried and found guilty of the illegal administration of oaths, and were transported in chains to Australia as convicts. The sentences were later reprieved, but the Grand Consolidated collapsed, and with it the hopes of thousands of workers. They were still to have to endure the troubles of the "Hungry Forties," but other factors were already beginning to influence their lives more effectively and more directly than politically revolutionary action could have done. By the middle of the nineteenth century the tide had begun to turn.

Test Yourself

1. Summarize the more important of the Factory Acts.
2. Explain the general enthusiasm for reform in the 1830s.
3. Many workers believed, after 1832, that the Middle Class had betrayed them. A lecturer in Leicester, in 1835, said, "Don't be deceived by the Middle Classes again." What reasons were there for this view?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.



GREEN'S BALLOON

Charles Green (1785-1870) was one of the most celebrated of English experimenters in balloon travel. His first ascent from Green Park in London took place on 19 July, 1821, at the coronation of George IV, an occasion distinguished by the fact that coal-gas was used for the first time instead of hydrogen to inflate the balloon. The ascent pictured above was made in 1848 from the Cremorne Gardens, at that time one of London's most fashionable open spaces.

CHAPTER XXI

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

MANY attempts have been made to label, in a short descriptive phrase, the first thirty years or so of the reign of Queen Victoria, the period of the middle generation of the nineteenth century, from 1837 to the middle sixties. Such descriptions have included "The Railway Age," "Between the Two Reform Bills, 1832 and 1867," "The Oncoming of Democracy," "Self-Help," and "The Unfettering of Trade." Though each such description necessarily refers only to some special feature of this generation's life, they all imply a period of rapid change in the independence and general wellbeing of the worker; rapid, because it is a period of a single generation, a greater independence, by virtue of democratic reforms which could no longer be postponed, and general wellbeing, consequent on improved trade, improved transport, and a more enlightened system of political economy. Yet, to people then living, the changes must have seemed slow enough, for general conditions of life amongst workers remained, for some years after the Queen's accession, as bad as they had been for several generations before.

One of the most influential of the factors which led to continued hardship was the high cost of necessities in relation to wages. The factor which, more than any other, kept costs high was the dependence of the national income on import duties. In the first five years of Victoria's reign the national expenditure exceeded the national revenue by £7,000,000, and, in attempting to meet this increasing deficit, the Government added more and more articles to the list of taxable imports and increased the duties on existing ones. The twelve hundred commodities which were so taxed included foods and raw materials, adding thereby to the costs of home-manufactured goods and of such necessary foods as corn, meat, and sugar. The following extract, descriptive of the effect of the system, is taken

from the writing of the brilliant and witty clergyman, Sydney Smith (1771-1845), the founder of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road. The dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent, into a spoon which has paid fifteen per cent, sinks back on his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent, makes his will with an £8 stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a licence of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His virtues are then handed down to posterity on taxed marble.

While the essential purpose of most of this burden of indirect taxation was to meet increasing national expenditure, including the payment of the interest on a greatly swollen and still swelling national debt, the purpose of the duty on imported corn was to protect the British farmer from foreign competition. Harassed manufacturers, faced with the heavy cost of imported raw material, complained that the Corn Law so raised the price of bread that workers had no money left for the purchase of British manufactures. The farmer replied that the remedy was to increase the wages of the workers, a remedy which the manufacturer regarded as impracticable even if desirable, in the face of his own difficulties. It seemed to be a completely vicious circle.

In July, 1842, a number of Staffordshire mine-owners, through depression of trade, reduced the wages of their pitmen at two days' notice, though a fortnight's notice was customary. When the miners resisted, the owners closed the mines. Unemployment, in days long before unemployment relief had become a national responsibility, could be heart-breakingly serious, especially as the workhouses provided the only alternative to starvation. Henry Mayhew, an English author of the period and one of the founders of *Punch*, quoted in *London Labour and London Poor* the following



OMNIBUS OF 1850

The first omnibus began operation in London between the Bank and Paddington on 4 July, 1829. It accommodated eighteen persons and was a single-decker. In 1850 a bus with an upper deck made its appearance, though men only were allowed to ride on top. That was still a rule in 1860 when the drawing reproduced above was made, and it remained a custom well into the twentieth century. Much of the business of the early London omnibuses derived from transferring passengers from one main-line terminus to another, the one illustrated being operated by the Great Western Railway and linking Paddington with Oxford Street, Holborn and London Bridge.

comment made by a carpenter whom Mayhew met in a night refuge.

I have been out of work nearly three months. . . . The last job I had was at Cobham, in Surrey, doing joiner's work, and business with my master got slack, and I was discharged. Then I made my way to London . . . endeavouring to get work from every one I knew or could get recommended to. But I have not met with any success. Well, sir, I have been obliged to part with all I had, even to my tools. . . . My tools are pawned for 10s., and my clothes are all gone. . . . It is now three weeks since the last of my things went, and after that I have been about the streets, and gone into bakers' shops and asked for a crust.

Carlyle, in 1843, wrote that: "You have to admit that the working body of this rich English nation has sunk or is sinking fast into a state to which there was literally

never any parallel." Most of the wretched conditions of labour described in the previous chapter continued through the early years of Victoria's reign. Many handicrafts continued to struggle under conditions increasingly difficult against the competition of mechanized industries, and families working in garrets, as the glove-makers of Worcester, found it hard to earn a shilling a day. Small workshops in many industries increased in number, and these lay outside the scope of Factory Acts as yet passed. The Act prohibiting the employment of women and girls in mines and collieries was not passed until 1842, and eight years had to elapse before the appointment (by the Act of 1850) of four inspectors for the twelve hundred mines in operation. Efficient coal-mine regulation really dates from the Act of 1855.

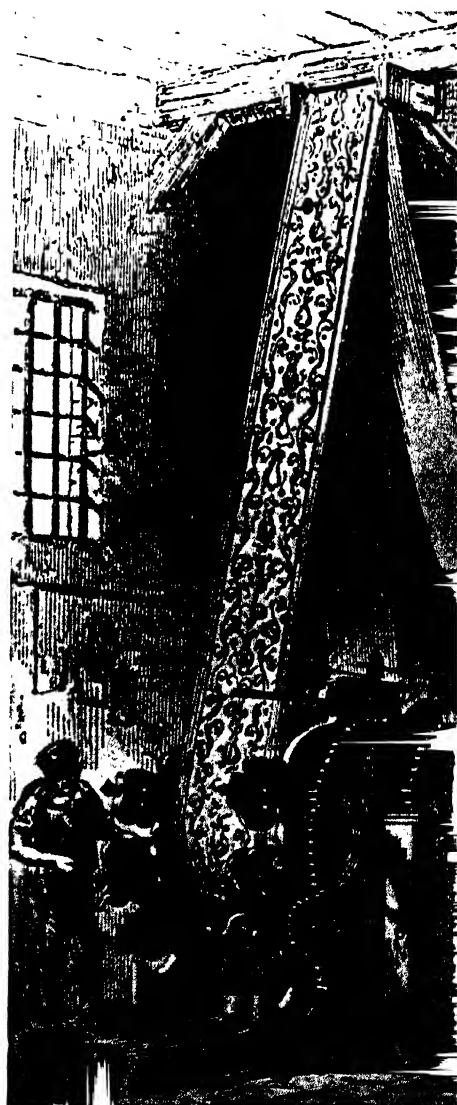
Nor as yet were the housing conditions better for the workers, except in isolated instances. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835, though it was to have far-reaching consequences in its transference of the government of towns from the old aristocratic oligarchy to a democratically elected council, could not immediately revolutionize urban conditions. The new councils were not compelled to make sewers or to enforce the making of drains by householders or builders. Regular scavenging rarely was applied to any but the main streets, so that the slums which grew unchecked and unplanned were allowed to accumulate their refuse which overflowed from the exposed middens into alley and court. Regular water supply was becoming available for the relatively wealthy, but usually the poor, as in Chester, had to obtain it "by begging, or from the river." The fault was not, of course, entirely that of the town councils. Little was known as yet of the principles of urban sanitation, nor had science or industry applied itself to the production of the necessary appliances and equipment. It is difficult, however, to excuse even the most short-sighted and conservative of local governments for the toleration of conditions such as those described by Dr. Thomas Southwood Smith as existing in Bethnal Green in 1844, and which were certainly no worse than those of many other parts of the country. An extract is, perhaps, worth quoting:

The open area called Lamb's Fields is about 700 ft. in length and 300 ft. in breadth; of this space about 300 ft. are constantly covered in stagnant water, summer and winter. In the part thus submerged, there is always a quantity of putrefying animal and vegetable matter, the odour of which is most offensive. An open filthy ditch encircles this place, which at the western extremity is from 8 to 10 ft. broad. Into this part of the ditch the closets of all the houses of North Street open, and the refuse from them is allowed to accumulate in the open ditch. Lamb's Fields is a fruitful source of fever to the houses which immediately surround it, and to the small streets which branch from it.

In many other ways the 'thirties and 'forties seem strangely remote. Very few working men and many wealthy men could either read or write. Matches were a costly luxury, and to light a fire the wife

CALICO PRINTING, 1854

The machine illustrated is a means of producing decorative effects in the form of patterns or designs on cotton and other fabrics, and was regarded at the time as a great advance in textile manufacture. Although it was first used largely for printing calico, it was equally applicable to other fabrics. It represented the culmination of a series of experiments which began in 1785 when the first successful use of a cylinder printing-machine for textiles is recorded.



would "take the tinder box in which some singed linen was enclosed, and after placing the box so that the sparks would drop on this tinder she would strike flint and steel together." If she were fortunate she would perhaps get a light in three minutes. Another luxury too expensive for the cottager was letter-writing, even if he had sufficient education to indulge in it. Letters were paid for by the receiver according to the number of sheets they contained and the distance they had travelled. There was little opportunity for recreation; travelling was slow, uncomfortable, and expensive; railways were just beginning to be planned on a large scale. Contrasting these conditions with those of sixty years later, H. J. Rose, a Victorian historian, wrote: "To the steamship and the railway we largely owe the prosperity of our industries, the rise in wages, the cheapening of food, and the variety of our modern life." Of the many factors which contributed toward these changed conditions the development of steam locomotion was probably the most influential.

Railway Development Begins

In 1821 Parliament authorized the construction of a railway from Stockton to Darlington. The line was opened four years later, and George Stephenson, who had been experimenting with steam locomotives at Killingworth Colliery, near Newcastle, since 1813, persuaded the company to add one to the stationary engines and horses which the company preferred. The early locomotives were expensive to run and were inefficient, often stopping in the face of a headwind, and, at the best, reaching a speed of four miles an hour. Anyone could use the line, on payment of a toll, and soon a number of private horse-drawn coaches had been added to the one provided by the company for the use of passengers. There was, of course, no timetable; drivers would leave their horses and coaches on the line while they went away for refreshment; overtaking was obviously impossible, and, as the speed of engines was increased by Stephenson's use of the escaping steam to increase the blast, it soon became clear that the horse-drawn carriages would have to go. In 1833 the company bought all the private coaches and

allowed only the use of its own engines on the line.

Meanwhile, a new engine designed by George Stephenson and his son Robert, the "Rocket," was awarded the prize offered for the best locomotive at the opening of a new line between Liverpool and Manchester in 1829. The "Rocket" reached a speed of thirty miles an hour. This railway was the first in the modern sense. It was designed for passenger traffic as well as for the carriage of goods, and only the company's engines were allowed on the line. During six months of 1831 over a quarter of a million passengers used it.

Public Interest Grows

Though public interest in the possibilities of railway transport was now aroused, there was extraordinary opposition to any scheme for laying down a new line. Cattle and horses would be driven mad, birds would be poisoned and game destroyed by the poisonous fumes, hens would cease to lay, crops would be set on fire by the sparks, houses would be shaken into ruins. Towns refused, to the inconvenience of future generations, to have the station near the houses, though this usually meant in practice that the towns soon spread toward the railway. Landowners demanded most extortionate compensation for the passing of a railway through their land, and an Act of Parliament, necessary for the construction of a new line, could be passed only after extravagant bribery. The Birmingham to London railway, in the planning of which Robert Stephenson walked the whole distance twenty times, cost £750,000 in compensation to landowners and £72,000 in obtaining the consent of Parliament. There were eight tunnels on this line, and that at Kilsby, near Rugby, cost the company £300,000. Incidentally, this was the sum spent by rival companies competing for permission to construct a railway from London to Brighton.

The railway from Birmingham to London was opened in September, 1838, and along it many travelled to the Queen's coronation. From this moment progress was rapid, especially between 1844 and 1848, when railway construction passed from the hands of colliery owners and Quakers into the hands of speculators. In 1830 there were



OPENING OF THE CANTERBURY-WHITSTABLE RAILWAY

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the idea of a railway was by no means new. Wooden rails for guiding horse-drawn transport had been in use for over a hundred years, though chiefly confined to collieries and some other industrial undertakings. At the turn of the eighteenth century a public railway for goods was being built in the South London area and was opened between Croydon and Wandsworth in 1801. The wagons were horse-drawn. By the time the Whitstable and Canterbury Railway was opened on 3 May, 1830, there were already two railways in use using steam power, that operated between Stockton and Darlington and that between Manchester and Liverpool.

in Britain 69 miles of railway in use for steam locomotion; by 1840 there were 1,331; by 1850, 6,621. Between 1845 and 1847, when "railway mania" was at its height, £227,460,000 worth of capital was sanctioned by Parliament for railway schemes of which many were wild and some fraudulent.

The history of British railway construction shows the folly of political *laissez-faire* at its worst. There was no attempt to plan a national system of railways, and lines were laid down to meet the needs of private industrial companies or the hopes of speculators. Consequently there was unnecessary and wasteful overlapping and a lasting burden of heavy capital charges. Canal companies, which at first welcomed the railways as likely to increase the amount of coal brought from pit-head to canal, soon became the greatest obstruc-

tionists, when the possibilities inherent in steam locomotion became clearer. As recently as 1890 the Great Western Railway paid £1,000,000 to the Severn Commission in lieu of the heavy annual sum they had paid for forty-five years! Railways, too, were constructed at different gauges, the rails of the northern lines, for which the Stephensons were mainly responsible, being 4 ft. 8½ in. apart, while those of the south, mainly designed by Brunel, were 7 ft. apart. The decision to adopt the narrower gauge as standard was made in 1846, but the Great Western was allowed to continue to construct track at the 7-ft. gauge. The decision of the G.W.R. to adopt the standard gauge in 1892 cost the company £2,000,000.

Many less important but burdensome restrictions were also imposed on the early companies. The Liverpool-Manchester

Railway Company, for example, could not use any engine which Lord Lilford or the Rector of Winwick considered too noisy. The Great Western line, passing through Eton, was constructed only on the condition that a special staff should be maintained by the company to prevent Eton schoolboys from slipping off to London during term.

An immediate effect of the construction of railways was the employment of thousands of men for the laying of track, the manufacture of rails, engines, carriages, trucks, stations, bridges, and the like, and, later, as workers on the railway. Most of the workers engaged by sub-contractors for the laying of track, or for making embankments or cuttings, were labouring gangs known as "navvies" or "Navigators," who lived usually in temporary sheds at the side of the line, and who frequently preyed on the countryside to make up the scanty wages which were often paid in "truck." Some contractors from the first paid good wages, provided proper accommodation, and kept the workers under reasonable discipline, and conditions in general began to improve after the report of the Commission over which Edwin Chadwick presided.

The Railways Increase Employment

The railways were also indirectly responsible for an increase in employment. Coal-fields which had fallen into disuse through transport difficulties were opened again; those which had struggled on began to flourish; and new ones were opened. New factories and mills were founded near the railways, new demands were made on the iron and steel industries, new buildings were necessary, more and varied foods could be brought into towns from distant places without loss of freshness, and a cheap and regular postal service became possible. Mainly through the advocacy of Rowland Hill, light letters could be sent to any part of the United Kingdom after 10 January, 1840, for a penny, which the sender paid by the purchase of a stamp.

The railways, therefore, both directly and indirectly, led to greater employment and greater production. They tended also to knit the country into a closer unity, both geographically, economically, and socially,

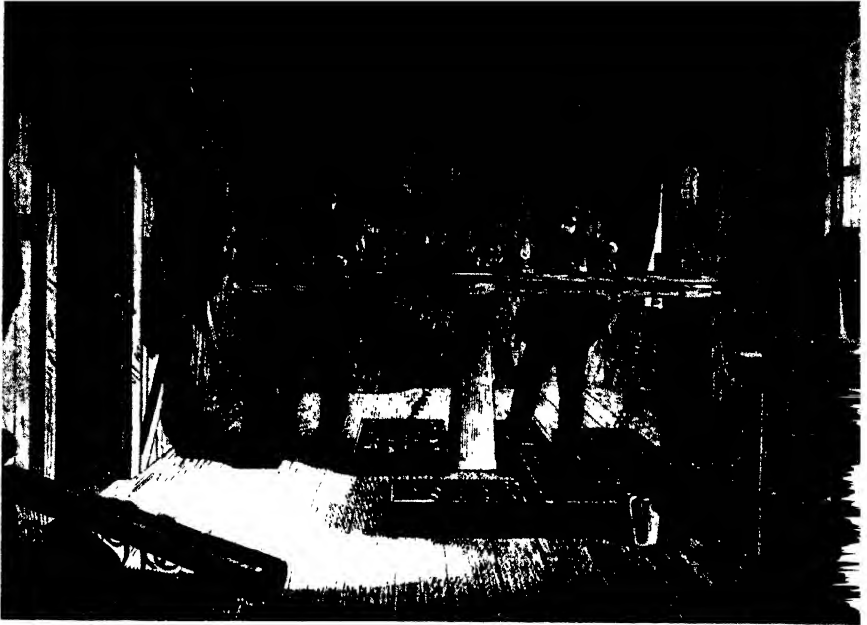
by reducing the cost and speed of travelling, by aiding the distribution of goods, and by bringing different classes of people together. After 1844 at least one train a day had to provide, on every railway, a covered carriage for third-class travellers at a penny a mile.

For some time, however, railway travelling was an adventure. Railways were opened more quickly than drivers could be trained. Many trains had, at first, no brakes. Signalling was done by flags and lamps which "policemen," stationed at intervals along the lines, waved to an on-coming train if they believed the line ahead to be clear, and they depended for information on verbal messages from the next policeman stationed down the line. Early instructions to travellers included the recommendation that they should not attempt to jump from a moving train if a hat had blown off.

Electric Telegraph Invented

The railway companies' most urgent need was for a more rapid and reliable means of communication. This was provided by the invention of telegraphy, which revolutionized the whole field of communication, in that messages no longer had to be carried. In 1837 two inventors, Cooke and Wheatstone, patented a process of signalling to distant places by means of electric current. The Great Western Railway, the London and Birmingham Railway, and a number of industrial companies, bought the equipment and proceeded to instruct their staffs. But there was little interest in the possibilities of telegraphy until a murderer, attempting to escape from his captors by jumping into a train, was intercepted by the police at Paddington. The warning had reached London by telegraphy in time for the arrangements for his capture to be made. Once public interest had been aroused in telegraphy its use spread rapidly. In 1846 the Electro-Telegraph Company was formed, and by 1854 the company owned 4,500 miles of telegraph wire. Another company, the English and Irish Magnetic Telegraph, was doing similar work, mainly in the north.

By extensive amalgamations and by the use of telegraphy the railways developed rapidly after 1850 into an organized



TELEGRAPH HOUSE, 1865

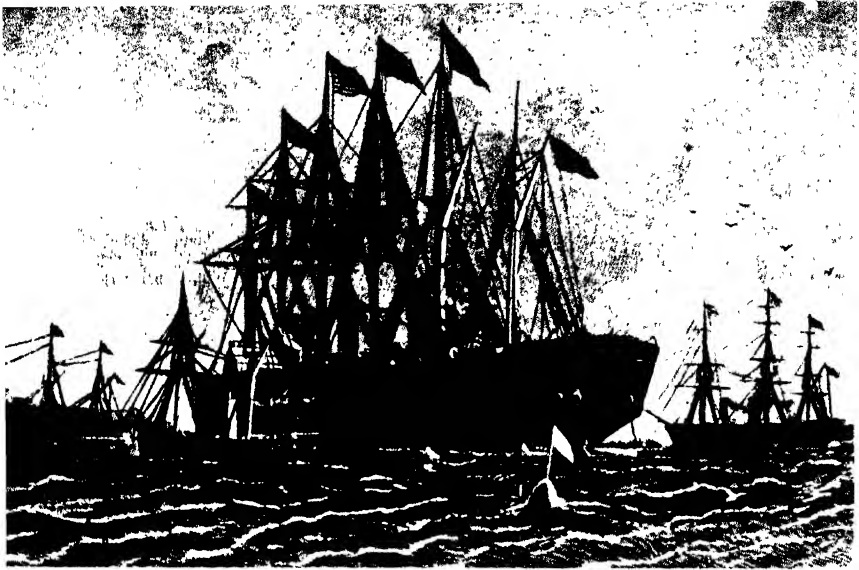
The European end of the Atlantic submarine cable was at Valentia, an island off the coast of Eire, in County Kerry. In this picture messages are being received in the instrument-room of Telegraph House from the Great Eastern in mid-Atlantic during the laying of the 1865 cable. (See illustration on page 182.)

system of national travelling and transport. The roads fell into relative disuse, so that Thomas Hardy, when later referring to the highways, could speak of their "tomb-like stillness, more emphatic than that of glades and pools."

When is a person wealthy? One way of answering this question is that a person is wealthy so long as he can obtain, and is obtaining, all that he needs and desires of those goods and services which are obtainable. Ultimately this means that he, or someone else on his behalf, is performing services or producing goods which someone else will want as much, and will therefore value as highly, as he values the services or goods received in exchange. The same truth applies to national wealth. A nation's relative wealth could be measured in terms of the relative quantity of goods and services it could obtain from other countries in return for those goods and services it could offer. Obviously countries with different natural resources from those of

Great Britain, with different climates, and with different conditions of production, could offer many desirable things to Britain which she herself could not produce. To obtain these Britain would have to produce goods and offer services which other countries would be glad to have. For several reasons it is necessary to make this sound obvious.

One reason is that the prevalent mercantilist doctrine did not accept the implication that a nation sells only in order to buy. The mercantilist's view, as has been previously discussed, was that a nation must sell as much as possible and buy as little as possible, in order to make a profitable balance in gold. Obviously, if this idea were carried to its logical conclusion, no nation would ever sell anything because there would be no purchasers. The mercantilist believed, too, that if one nation gained wealth through trade, another nation or other nations must lose an equal amount. This is untrue if the term "wealth" is used,



LAYING THE ATLANTIC CABLE

In September, 1866, a cable was laid successfully for the first time across the Atlantic. This reproduction of a contemporary drawing shows the laying of the end of the cable in Heart's Content Bay, Newfoundland. The cable-laying ship is the Great Eastern, originally conceived by I. K. Brunel and an expensive failure except for the excellent work which she did in laying the Atlantic cable. There had been an unsuccessful attempt to establish submarine-cable communication across the Atlantic in 1850. Another attempt in 1865 had failed when the cable broke after being about two-thirds laid. After the successful laying of the 1866 cable, however, the end of the 1865 cable was picked up and completed.

for, as in simple exchange, each side gains something wanted for something not wanted or wanted less, so that each participant in the exchange gains in wealth.

Another reason for the necessary emphasis of this point is that in the nineteenth century Britain was rapidly becoming "the workshop of the world," producing coal, iron, textiles, earthenware, metalware, machinery, tools, rails, and, now, locomotives before any other nation was ready to do so. Moreover, those nations which were advanced enough and awake enough to recognize that they had natural resources which they could turn to similar advantage by adopting British methods and inventions, had to go to Britain for guidance, for machinery, and for other provisional equipment. Steam locomotion, for example, has been called "England's gift to the world." By the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, Britain had an unrivalled capacity for selling goods which other

peoples would be anxious to buy; this meant that Britain had in consequence an unrivalled opportunity to buy from other peoples, and to increase accordingly the wealth of the nation.

In the third place there were, in the middle of the nineteenth century, more peoples able to buy goods than there had ever been before. Europe was emerging from its long period of revolutionary struggles, and newly organized or newly emancipated nations were beginning to look enviously to Britain, whose commercial and industrial development was so much in advance of their own. The United States of America, no longer a thin coastal strip but a great nation which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had reached the Pacific, was becoming a great producing country able and willing to buy what Britain alone, so far, could sell. A considerable emigration from Europe, and from the United Kingdom, was opening new markets in

Africa, Australasia, and in parts of Asia. China was compelled to open her ports to European traders, and Japan was soon to do so voluntarily.

The way seemed to be prepared, therefore, for the development of a world trade on an unprecedented scale, and for Britain to have, at least for a time, an unchallenged supremacy in it. The first necessity for any such development was a vastly improved system of world transport, just as the first necessity of a specialized British trade had been that revolution in national transport which had first improved the roads, then made the canals, and, in the middle of the century, produced the railways and steam locomotion.

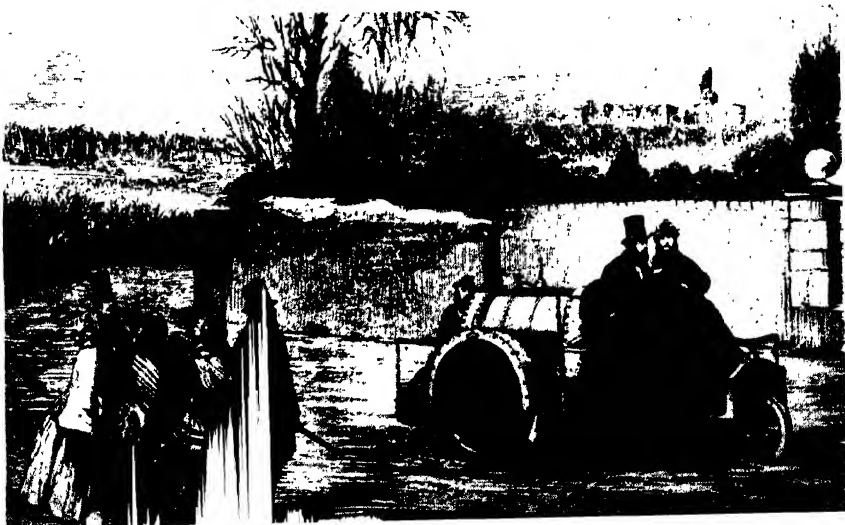
British shipping, at the accession of the Queen, was in urgent need of a revolutionary overhaul. The vessels themselves were of the slow, broad-beamed type which America had already changed for a narrower and faster vessel. The largest of the British ships were those of the East India Company, vessels of about 1,500 tons. Ordinary ships varied from about 150 to 700 tons. Many of them were unseaworthy, and unscrupulous owners, tempted by insur-

ance, were not worried if some of their ships did not return. The crews consisted of ignorant men, and until 1850 no examination was required for mastership of a vessel. There were very few good lifeboats, probably no more than twenty all round the coast in 1850, and in 1838 Grace Darling and her father, the keeper of the Longstone lighthouse, rescued nine persons after battling through a storm in an ordinary rowing boat. In 1836 the private lighthouses of England and Wales were transferred to the care of the Corporation of Trinity House, and in that branch of the marine service improvements began.

Experiments in the construction of steamships had begun with the century, and in 1809 an American vessel, with a steam-driven paddle, was carrying goods and passengers on the Lakes. Similar vessels were in use on the Clyde, Forth, Thames, Humber, and Mersey from 1812, mainly for the transport of coal, but they were unpopular because of the damage they caused to the river banks. In 1816 one crossed the Channel; two years later another crossed from Holyhead to Dublin, and in 1819 a vessel using both steam and sails

A STEAM-CARRIAGE OF 1855

Mr. Rickett of the Castle Foundry, Buckingham, is named as the designer of this steam-carriage. The stoker sits at the rear, while the driver operates the crude steering-gear with one hand and the manual brake with the other. It will be noticed that the brake is similar to that used for horse-drawn vehicles and similarly operated. In spite of many experiments, steam-carriages, whether in the form of passenger vehicles or private cars, never attained wide usage, although there were still steam-buses operating in London in 1914.





"DERBY DAY," BY FRITH

Frith's "Derby Day, 1856," the best known of that artist's paintings, has special historic interest because of the lifelike impression it gives of the costume and appearance of the people in all sections of society. We may notice the labourer's smock, the frock-coat and top-hat of the wealthier people, and the crinoline style adopted by women, rich and poor alike. By the 1850s Derby Day had become virtually a public holiday in London. The Derby Stakes was instituted in 1780, and the Epsom meeting at which this race was run immediately became one of the most popular in the whole of the racing calendar

crossed the Atlantic. There was little further progress until 1838, when two ships, each entirely steam-driven, arrived at New York within two hours of each other. The first to arrive had started from London seventeen days earlier, a vessel of 700 tons, known as the *Sirius*. The other had started from London two days later than its rival; it was the *Great Western*, a steamship of 1,320 tons, which Brunel had designed.

In 1840 the British Admiralty invited tenders for the carrying of mail to America by steamships. Dependence on steam instead of on the winds made practicable the idea of the "liner," the vessel which can work to a regular time-table along pre-

determined ocean routes. It was in response to the Admiralty's invitation that Samuel Cunard, a shipowner of Halifax, Nova Scotia, entered into partnership with Messrs. Burns of Glasgow, and Messrs. MacIver of Liverpool, to enter into a contract to carry passengers, mail, and goods across the Atlantic by regular steamship service. The first Cunard steamer to make the voyage was the *Britannia*. It left Liverpool on 4 July, 1842, and reached Boston on 19 July.

At about this time other regular steamship lines were opening. In 1840 the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company undertook regular transport to the West Indies and to



Panama. Passengers wishing to cross to the Pacific were conveyed across the isthmus by mules. They could continue by travelling on the ships of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. The Peninsular Company, which had opened up regular steam transport between London and Lisbon in 1837, extended its "sailings" to Malta in 1840 and to India by way of the Cape in 1842. This began the famous P. and O. Line, the Peninsular and Oriental.

Already the idea of iron ships, for long ridiculed, had passed the experimental stage. Small coastal vessels of iron were being made in the shipyards of Liverpool and Birkenhead in 1824, and ocean-going liners followed in 1832. Brunel, in 1838, designed for the Great Western Railway an iron steamship of 3,618 tons. America had inexhaustible timber resources; Britain at this stage had ample resources of iron but little timber. Thus the development of the iron steamship was again to Britain's advantage. New demands were made by the shipyards on the production of coal and

iron, more coal was needed for the ships, and new demands were made on the shipbuilders for more, for bigger, and for faster vessels.

The stage seemed set, therefore, for the rapid development of a world-wide trade, with Britain well to the fore as a producer of goods likely to find world-wide markets, and well to the fore as a carrier of the world's goods, and as the main producer of steam locomotives and steamships. Unfortunately, it was not quite so simple as this picture suggests. The Navigation Laws and a policy of protective tariffs, the surviving remnants of an outworn mercantilism which had permitted a miserly poverty to exist in a potentially wealthy nation, were still powerful obstacles to an overseas commercial development.

References have been made in earlier chapters to the Navigation Laws which had imposed restrictions on overseas trade and transport with the main object of protecting British shipping in the days when Britain was struggling for a share in the

world's commerce. Many of these regulations had fallen into disuse during the eighteenth century, but the main provisions of the code were still in force at the beginning of the nineteenth. Trade between Britain and her colonies was still dependent on British shipping for transport. Fishing and the coastal trade were similarly restricted. Asiatic, African, and North American produce, with certain exceptions in favour of North America, could be carried to Britain only in British ships. Twenty-eight important articles of European trade could be conveyed to Britain only in British ships or in those of the country sending the goods.

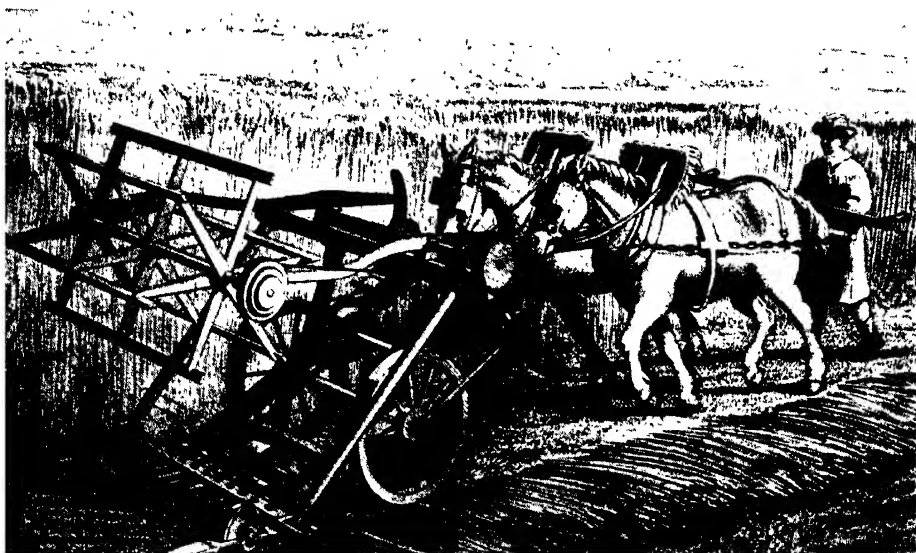
Between 1822 and 1825 the British Government, guided by William Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, had begun a comprehensive revision of the old Trade Laws, granting a measure of commercial freedom to the colonies, and, after 1825, extending this freedom to those foreign countries which were willing to make reciprocal arrangements with Britain. The Navigation Laws remained, however, on the Statute Book and, in 1845, were re-

enacted. All goods conveyed from one British possession to another had still to travel in British ships, manned by crews of which two-thirds of the members had to be British subjects. Many important goods, including such necessary raw materials as timber, tar, masts, wool, and flax, in addition to brandy, wine, oranges, lemons, currants, raisins, figs, and prunes, could still reach Britain only in British ships or in those of the country of origin.

In 1846 and 1847 many, including John Lewis Ricardo, were busily pointing out the disadvantages of this restrictive code at a time when British shipping no longer needed this form of protection. West Indian planters, or Canadian timber merchants, with cargoes for export, would have to wait until British vessels were available, though other vessels might be leaving under ballast. Indian merchants often had difficulty in manning ships, so that two-thirds of the crew were British subjects, for lascars were regarded as British subjects only in the Indian Ocean. Ricardo emphasized another kind of disadvantage. A Spanish vessel might have left

BELL'S REAPING-MACHINE

Illustrations on earlier pages of this book have shown improved ploughs and drills which were introduced towards the end of the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century factories began to be built for the sole purpose of manufacturing agricultural machinery, including ploughs, harrows, grain-drills, reapers, etc. Bell's machine, one of the most highly esteemed of its time, merely dropped the corn without binding it, but so far as speed was concerned marked a very great advance on the traditional method of cutting by scythe.





HARVEST HOME, 1858

The period 1850-74 was one of great prosperity for the farming community. The agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century had at long last paid its dividend, and farmers were making a satisfactory return for the capital invested and the labour expended. Moreover, the invention of machines, which were destined to turn agriculture into a highly-mechanized business, overcame at least for the time labour difficulties caused by the drift from country to town in the first third of the nineteenth century. There was capital available, too, for investing in the new and expensive machinery, and even some left over for rehousing the agricultural workers. The result was that the country people were well fed, well clothed and relieved of the burden of the recurring depressions which had marked so much of the nation's agricultural history. This prosperity was reflected in an increased gaiety, typified by the feasting of the customary harvest-home suppers.

Cuba with sugar which it exchanged at a French port for a cargo of wine.

Britain wants the wine and the Spaniard wants British earthenware, which is available for export. But the wine could not be brought to Britain in the Spanish ship! As French wine it could enter a British port only in a British or a French vessel! British manufacturers, requiring raw materials from abroad, would often find that the available raw materials had gone to a foreign competitor, either because foreign vessels had carried it at a cheaper

rate or because no British vessel happened to be immediately available. In 1849 all these restrictions were removed except that confining the coastal trade to British ships, and in 1854 this trade, too, was thrown open. The last of the Navigation Laws had gone.

British shipping suffered little through the loss of the protective privileges it had so long enjoyed, because it no longer needed such protection. As world trade increased, the shipping of Britain and of other countries increased rapidly, but the



OXFORD STREET IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Already established as a great shopping thoroughfare, Oxford Street, London, still remained also a fashionable residential street in the early part of the nineteenth century. The shops were still small individual ones, none of the great modern multiple or departmental stores having yet been founded. In the part of the street shown in this old print there is a "mourning warehouse," a wax chandler and a brush-maker, as well as some private houses. Many of the shops were craft shops, that is to say, shops making of the premises goods which they offered for sale. It was the era of the horse-bus.

only serious competition came from the United States. Britain's lead in the manufacture of iron steamships, however, and the check to American economic expansion caused by the American Civil War (1861-65), gave to British shipowners a virtually unchallenged supremacy for a generation.

Meanwhile another and more direct obstacle to British trade, the formidable barrier of import duties and export duties, was being removed. Some of the ideas about trade very briefly outlined earlier in this chapter had been developed at length in George III's reign by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*, and Pitt the Younger would almost certainly have put some of those ideas into practice had not the Napoleonic War made fiscal experiments impossible. The same ideas found forceful and direct expression in a petition presented to the Government by a number of merchants in 1820. At this time the Government was relying on indirect taxation, such as import and export duties and excise, for nearly 80 per cent of the total

national revenue, and it was to plead for the removal or reduction of these burdens on trade that the Merchants' Petition was drawn up. Throughout the petition the merchants describe this system of taxation as "the restrictive or protective system," and assume that its purpose was the protection of British trading interests in accordance with the old mercantilist doctrine. Accordingly their arguments are directed against this protective principle and are in favour of what came to be known as "Free Trade." As the merchants' views were clearly expressed and were to have considerable influence, brief extracts may be worth quoting.

The Petition . . .
Humbly sheweth

That foreign commerce is eminently conducive to the wealth and prosperity of a country, by enabling it to import the commodities for the production of which the soil, climate, capital, and industry of other countries are best calculated, and to export in payment those articles for which its own situation is better adapted.

That freedom from restraint is best calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, and the best direction to the capital and industry of the country.

That the maxim of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation.

That a policy founded on these principles would render the commerce of the world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyments among the inhabitants of each State.

The merchants answer the "erroneous supposition that every importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own productions to the same extent" by pointing out that, though this might be true of specific products, yet, "as no importation could be continued for any length of time without a corresponding exportation, direct or indirect, there would be an encouragement, for the purpose of that exportation of our other production to which our situation might be better suited. . . ."

The petitioners further pointed out that other States were adopting similar protective and prohibitory tariffs, mainly to exclude British goods, in retaliation for British restrictions, a policy which, if consistently adopted, would end foreign trade altogether.

The petitioners ended by saying that they were arguing only against the protective policy, and that

As long as the necessity for the present amount of revenue subsists, your petitioners cannot expect so important a branch of it as the Customs to be given up, nor to be materially diminished, unless some substitute, less objectionable, be suggested.

William Huskisson, who as President of the Board of Trade entered the reformed cabinet in 1822 with the equally progressive Peel and Canning, held these views. "National prosperity," he said, "would be most effectually promoted by an unrestrained competition not only between the capital and the industry of different classes in the same country, but also by extending that competition as much as possible to all other countries." This was in 1825, and Huskisson went so far as to make considerable reductions in a number of duties, particularly on imported raw materials, and in other cases to substitute duties for

absolute prohibition. He did not, however, abolish any import duties.

The main problem was to discover some other source of revenue, as the merchants had suggested. It was left to Robert Peel, who in 1841 was called for the second time to the premiership, to find a solution. The situation which confronted him was as bad as it could have been. The harvest had been poor, and bread cost from 10d. to 1s. 2d. for a quarter loaf when many farm-workers were earning only nine or ten shillings a week, without board. In many towns one in every ten was a pauper. In Manchester nine thousand people had a weekly wage of under 1s. 2½d. In Leeds twenty thousand earned 1s. or under; factories and mills were closing; Stockport was described as being "to let." The national expenditure had exceeded the revenue by over £2,000,000. Peel, who had already won a reputation as a financier, decided himself to introduce the Budget, and, he complained: "Can there be a more lamentable picture than that of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, seated on an empty chest, by the pool of bottomless deficiency, fighting for a Budget?" Peel, moreover, had an ideal which he expressed on more than one occasion; it was that Britain should be made "a cheap country for living."

Peel Introduces Income Tax

Announcing that the limit of taxation on articles of consumption had been reached, Peel proposed for three years an income tax of 7d. in the pound, a tax which he anticipated would yield £3,700,000. This, with a number of other taxes proposed to bring in another £600,000, would enable him not only to meet the deficit, but also "to propose great commercial reforms which will afford a hope of reviving commerce, and such an improvement in the manufacturing interests as will react on every other interest in the country; and by diminishing the prices of the articles of consumption and the cost of living." The import duties on seven hundred and fifty articles were reduced, those on raw materials "to an almost nominal amount," and the export duties on British manufactures were repealed. By 1845, when the three years for which the income tax had been levied had expired, the revenue had righted itself, and

Peel's policy justified. He proposed that the income tax should be levied for a further three years, further to reduce the cost of living, to cheapen raw materials for British manufacturers, to promote commercial enterprise, and to reduce unemployment, by further reductions in import duties, and, for the first time, by abolishing completely the duties on four hundred and thirty imported raw materials. It is an interesting commentary on Peel's great experiment that, although taxes to the amount of £8,206,000 had been remitted, between 1842 and 1846, the increase in the volume of trade was such that the surviving customs and excise duties yielded in 1847 only £50,000 less than in 1842.

The Corn Law was a special case. It was, as has already been shown, a purely protective measure, passed in 1815 when British farmers feared that agricultural ruin would come with the end of the virtual monopoly they had enjoyed during the Napoleonic War. The Act had prohibited the importation of foreign corn unless British corn exceeded the famine price of £4 a quarter. The effect had been to keep high the price of bread. An attempt to modify the effects of the Corn Law by introducing a sliding scale of duties, with the object of keeping the cost of corn round about £3 10s. a quarter, had merely increased the opportunities for gambling in the market, with the result that prices fluctuated even more wildly than before.

Anti-Corn Law Association Formed

In 1839, Peel had declared that "unless the existence of the Corn Law can be shown to be consistent not only with the prosperity of agriculture . . . but also with the protection and the maintenance of the general interests of the country, and especially with the improvement of the condition of the labouring class, the Corn Law is practically at an end." Many people had been working hard for a long time to show that the Corn Law was certainly not consistent with the interests of the country in general or of the labouring class in particular. In 1836 an Anti-Corn Law Association had been formed in London. Two years later the more vigorous Anti-Corn Law League was formed in Manchester, with Richard Cobden, a calico

printer of Manchester, and John Bright, a Quaker of Rochdale, as its two most prominent and active speakers. Cobden, who was made member of parliament for Stockport in 1841, was one of the greatest debaters of the age, witty, logical, direct, and determined. Bright, with a dignified and commanding figure which matched his eloquence, has been described as the greatest orator of his time. He, too, entered parliament, as representative for Birmingham. Villiers, member for Wolverhampton, was a faithful ally.

Famine of 1845

Clearly the movement for the repeal of the Corn Law derived its strength from the manufacturing centres, and from factory owners rather than from the workers. Cobden himself described it as a middle-class movement, and neither he nor Bright had any sympathy with proposals for shortening hours of labour or for parliamentary interference between employer and employee. The agricultural interest was still strong in Parliament, and Peel was content to restrict his free-trade measures to commodities other than corn, until the Irish famine of 1845 forced his hand. In that year thousands of Irish died of hunger through the failure of the potato crop. Something had to be done urgently, and relief works were as useful as a cheque to Robinson Crusoe. Peel, in a letter to Lord Heytesbury in October, 1845, wrote: "The remedy is the removal of all impediments to the import of all kinds of human food, that is, the total and absolute repeal for ever of all duties on all articles of subsistence." Cobden was hammering at the same obvious truth in the Commons, and after one of Cobden's speeches Peel turned to a colleague and said: "You must answer this, for I cannot." Peel, however, had accepted office on the understanding that he would not interfere with the Corn Law, so he resigned. Lord John Russell, given the task of forming a ministry, failed, and Peel returned, determined to repeal the Corn Law in the face of the party. On 25 June, 1846, the Act was passed. There was to be an immediate reduction in the duties levied on foreign corn, and after 1 February, 1849, wheat, oats, and barley were to be admitted on payment of a registration



HUSTINGS IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE, 1868

The familiar modern landmarks of Trafalgar Square, the base of Nelson's column, the lions, and the tower and spire of St. Martin-in-the-Fields are all present in this print, but the scene depicted of the hustings during a parliamentary election is one that has no counterpart in modern times. The secret ballot was not made law for parliamentary and municipal elections until the Ballot Act of 1872, though it had been adopted informally two years earlier. Before this voters recorded their votes at public hustings, as seen in the picture.

rate of one shilling a quarter. It was Peel's last gift to the nation. The same day the Act was passed, his own party, which accused him of having betrayed his trust, defeated him on an Irish Bill. He resigned, and four years later died. In the words of the young and brilliant Disraeli, who had voiced the displeasure of the House at Peel's "betrayal," if Protection was not quite dead, it was damned. It was left to Gladstone, whom Peel had introduced

into the ministry in 1846, to complete its destruction.

After Peel's tariff reforms there still remained in the tariff well over a thousand articles. Peel's great disciple, Gladstone, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's Ministry (1853-55), extended the income tax to a wider range of incomes, though the hope and expectation were that this unpopular tax, which Gladstone had said should be reserved for

emergencies, would have been renounced. He proposed its renewal for seven years at a diminishing rate. From this and other sources of proposed revenue he abolished the duty on one hundred and twenty-three articles and reduced that on one hundred and thirty-three others, which included tea. Gladstone was prevented from continuing the advancement of free trade by the outbreak of the Crimean War (1854-56), and by the Indian Mutiny which followed it, and it was not until 1860 that he was able to return to and to complete the work.

Greatest Budget of the Century

The Budget of 1860 has been described as the greatest of the century. After it only forty-eight articles remained in the tariff, and of these only fifteen were important. They were spirits, wine, tobacco, tea, cocoa, coffee, chicory, sugar, currants, raisins, figs, hops, rice, pepper, and timber.

A generation had gone by since the merchants' petition had pleaded for the removal of the commercial restrictions from British trade. By 1860 British shipping, industry, and agriculture had lost what protection tariffs had afforded, and, with the advantage of cheaper raw materials which they could buy where they chose, had to face in the world's markets whatever competition other nations could offer. There was little serious competition as yet in any of these fields. None challenged British maritime supremacy; nations which were beginning to develop industrially were buying capital goods for such development, and consumers' goods which they could not yet produce, from Britain; America had not yet developed its inexhaustible granary; experiments in refrigeration, which was to come to the aid of distant producers of meat and dairy-produce, were in their infancy. To the British merchants all seemed well with the world.

It is impossible to give in any but the most general terms a picture of the effect of all these changes on the life of the worker, for conditions varied in different parts of the country and in different occupations, some of which, like handloom weaving, were disappearing, with consequently increased hardship for those who clung to them. The fact of first importance, because

most of the others derive from it, is that between 1850 and 1875 Britain's export trade more than trebled itself, leaping from £71,000,000 to £223,000,000 in value of goods. Aided by increased shipping-charges and investments, Britain's imported goods rose in value, in the same period, from £152,000,000 to £373,000,000. As this implied a corresponding increase in the production of exportable goods, the demand for skilled labour increased, there were more opportunities for regular employment, and increased profits encouraged employers to pay higher wages. In many industries wages were more than doubled, while the cost of living fell rapidly after 1847.

It is desirable to look rather more closely at some of the ideas which have been expressed in the previous pages of this chapter, for it is obvious that neither railways nor steamships, Free Trade, nor even opportunities for greater industrial and commercial activity, can alone account for the increased general prosperity of the people or explain some of the continued hardships from which many people suffered. The main theory which was expressed through most of the changes outlined above was that of the desirability of "free competition," or the freedom of the individual from restrictive interference, even if such restriction was intended to be protective. This is, of course, the doctrine behind unrestricted "private enterprise" within the community. It is the doctrine of Free Trade, wherein this freedom of competitive striving for supremacy is extended to international commerce. Moreover, it is the doctrine behind political *laissez-faire*, implying that the Government should interfere as little as possible with individual liberty.

Doctrine of Unlimited Competition

This doctrine found philosophic expression in the writings of Jeremy Bentham and, in a modified form, in those of the elder and the younger Mill. Bentham strongly supported the view that unlimited competition produced the best possible goods at the lowest possible prices, while it ensured that the most hard-working should gain the reward for his greater activity. Thus the current philosophy tended to



FIRST DEPARTMENT STORES

The evolution of the department store dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. The store of Messrs. Benetfink and Fox was one of the earliest in London. These illustrations show, below, the electro-plate and tea-urn department and, above, the bath department. Here is a curious link which bridges the gap of a hundred years—the lay-out of the shelves and counters and the broad staircase leading to the showrooms on the upper floor, the rows of assistants behind a long counter—all suggest the more old-fashioned store of the present day, but the dress of the customers is emphatically mid-Victorian. The baths exhibited are especially interesting with their cunning contrivances for filling them with water without the necessity of carrying needless bucketfuls. The time was not so long past when bathing was considered unhealthy, but by the middle of the century every fashionable household demanded a bath.





A SOUP-KITCHEN IN MANCHESTER, 1862

This contemporary print underlines the grievous social results of the cotton famine which hit Lancashire, and the Manchester district in particular, most hard in 1862. The American Civil War was in full swing. One of its results was a blockade of the ports which had exported most of the material for the Lancashire cotton trade. Hundreds of thousands of workers were thrown out of employment and distress was general. This was the occasion when relief by private and public subscription was carried on for the first time on a large scale. A national subscription in April, 1863, produced upwards of two million pounds sterling, a large proportion of which was devoted to supplying free meals to the unemployed.

emphasize the value, in terms of material advancement, of such qualities as self-reliance, thrift, individual enterprise, and the like. The hero was the self-made man who had achieved "success" through self-disciplined sacrifice, hard work, superior capacity, opportunism, or good luck. There were, of course, many opportunities for the ambitious man, and the realization of such opportunities tended to restore self-respect to the worker and to stimulate a desire for education and training. It is not this that was wrong with the doctrine, nor necessarily its rather stern and harsh quality.

The two fundamental criticisms of the doctrine are that it emphasized material gain as the basic motive of human endeavour, and that human society was

directed by the Darwinian principle of "the survival of the fittest." In a human society left to its own devices the "fittest" would survive, and grow relatively wealthy. But the "fittest" did not necessarily mean the "most hard-working"; in commerce it probably meant the most self-assertive, and possibly the most cunning and unscrupulous. That the less commercially able or adaptable had to suffer was, unfortunately perhaps, logically inescapable, for in a competitive society obviously some must lose.

There were many forms of revolt against this view of society as being founded on competitive individualism. Space permits reference to only two, of which the first led to various theories of co-operation and

socialism. Robert Owen and, later, Karl Marx in this country, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and St. Simon in France, were all thinking in various ways of society as a corporate whole. Instead of human effort's being directed toward individual gain, they thought that individual effort should be directed toward the satisfaction of the needs of the community. In Owen's Model Communities, for example, each small population was to be a self-supporting community, dependent on its own collective or co-operative efforts for the satisfaction of its general needs. But just as doctrines of Individualism tend to forget or to ignore the needs of the whole community and the general responsibility of the community for its less successful members, so theories which emphasize the community of the whole, the State, tend to forget the individual.

Workers' Savings

One practical result of value emerged from Owen's experiments, whatever may be thought about the doctrine of communism which to a considerable extent may also be traced to his teaching. In order to set up a model community many workers had contributed what small savings they could accumulate to open a shop. The goods would be sold at retail price, and the profits would be allowed to accumulate to provide the necessary capital, training, and equipment for the founding of a model village. The first to survive for long, though it never carried out its original intention of forming such a village, was founded in 1844 at Toad (T'Owd) Lane, Rochdale. It was founded by twenty-eight workers who had each saved a pound. What was new in this enterprise was that custom was not restricted to the twenty-eight original subscribers. After 5 per cent interest had been deducted from the profits the rest was divided amongst the purchasers in proportion to the amount they had spent, and they were encouraged to re-invest these "dividends" in the stores so that they, too, might receive on such investments their 5 per cent. Thus the capital grew, new branches were opened, and an example of genuine "self-help," co-operation, and communal enterprise was made by the workers themselves.

The second form of attack was not based on any theory. It derived its inspiration from simple pity. It liked neither that view of society which saw its members struggling for personal gain, whether directed on doctrines of "liberty" or on those of competition, nor that view of society which subordinated human and individual interests to some abstract communal entity, whether it was the State or a village community. The Christian doctrine emphasizes the importance of the individual as such; not as a potentially successful competitor in a struggle for material gain, nor as an impersonal item in a communal aggregate called the State, but simply as a human being. It was this that had actuated the Christian Socialists, founded by Frederick Denison Maurice and the Rev. Charles Kingsley, who tried to make this teaching the basis of human relations. So, too, it had inspired all those who had worked to improve conditions of work in the factories and mines, to end child-labour, to improve the conditions of the prisons, to clean up the towns, and to end slavery at home and abroad. It had sent Florence Nightingale to the Crimea. During the years covered by this chapter it was the inspiration of the unceasing labours of Lord Ashley, later known as Lord Shaftesbury.

"Ragged" Schools

Reference has already been made to Lord Ashley's work for the improvement of factory conditions, for the abolition of the practice of sending children into chimneys and flues, and for legislation prohibiting the employment of women and children in mines. After the passing of the Mines Act in 1842, Lord Ashley turned to help the founding of Ragged Schools, schools for the extreme poor, founded by the London City Mission. Supported in this, as in other activities, by Charles Dickens, Lord Ashley developed sufficient interest in this work to lead to the formation of the Ragged School Union, which carried on this work in a number of schools for several years. After denouncing the filthy and demoralizing life of the poor in the alleys and courts of London, he erected a model lodging-house in St. Giles. In 1847, fourteen years of struggle for the passing of a Ten Hours' Bill was rewarded by an Act which reduced



A SCHOOLROOM IN 1853

Here is a lecture in progress at a "ragged" school in Brook Street, Hampstead Road. Anthony Cooper, Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, played an important part in the ragged-school movement, which was a major step towards free education for all. For thirty-nine years he was President of the Ragged School Union, and was largely responsible for increasing the standard of scholarship required in the teachers and for removing the abuses which had marred the early work of the movement. The first ragged school was founded in 1820 to supply not only free education, but where necessary food and clothes for destitute children.

the hours of work to ten a day for 363,000 women and young persons employed in the textile factories.

Out of this medley of philosophic doctrine and human kindliness, and encouraged by the sense of security and prosperous wellbeing into which Britain was complacently drifting in the 'sixties, Victorian liberalism was emerging. The Liberal ideal interpreted "freedom" not as "freedom to exploit," but as "freedom to develop." This was a more idealistic view of individualism; it had already had expression in various ways, and was destined to have still greater influence, in Britain's domestic affairs, her colonial policy, and in her foreign relations.

There are many ways of interpreting "liberty," and to Palmerston, who had directed British foreign policy for the

greater part of the period discussed in this chapter, it meant freedom from repression. After the defeat of Napoleon the European autocratic monarchies which the French and other national revolutions had overthrown were restored. They were, moreover, to be safeguarded from further threat from the "revolutionary monster" by the joint intervention of the Great Powers, which in 1815 meant Austria, Prussia, Russia, and, for a time, Britain. Britain, however, first under the leadership of Palmerston, had opposed a policy which in effect had implied the perpetuation of tyrannical governments, and had taken the side of peoples anxious to form more democratic governments after the fashion of that of Britain. It was this policy which Palmerston had described as "liberal." He had little interest in domestic matters, but

was busy in establishing abroad a reputation for Britain as the champion of national freedom. Gladstone, although he had served in Palmerston's ministries as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had often opposed Palmerston's policy as one leading to unnecessary and costly meddling with affairs which were none of our business, and in one of his greatest speeches had said that the first principle of a sound foreign policy was good government at home.

There were many who, like Gladstone, hoped that freedom of trade would in time lead to the development of a world-wide commerce in which nations would, to the advantage of all, exchange their goods in peaceful international co-operation. Albert, the Prince Consort, shared this ideal, and it was largely through his inspiration that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was held in the Crystal Palace, newly built in Hyde Park. His statue shows him holding the catalogue of this exhibition of world produce, a monument to a hope which was to suffer great disillusionment.

More practical, and nearer home, the ideal of a free, voluntary, and unpaid service to the common good was finding expression in the towns. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 had created a genuinely democratic régime in the towns, and the policy was beginning to have effect in the voluntary improvements and developments in which the town councils had begun to take a pride. New and better houses were appearing, improved methods of sanitation were applied, public halls, libraries, and art galleries were being built

"New Model" For Trade Unions

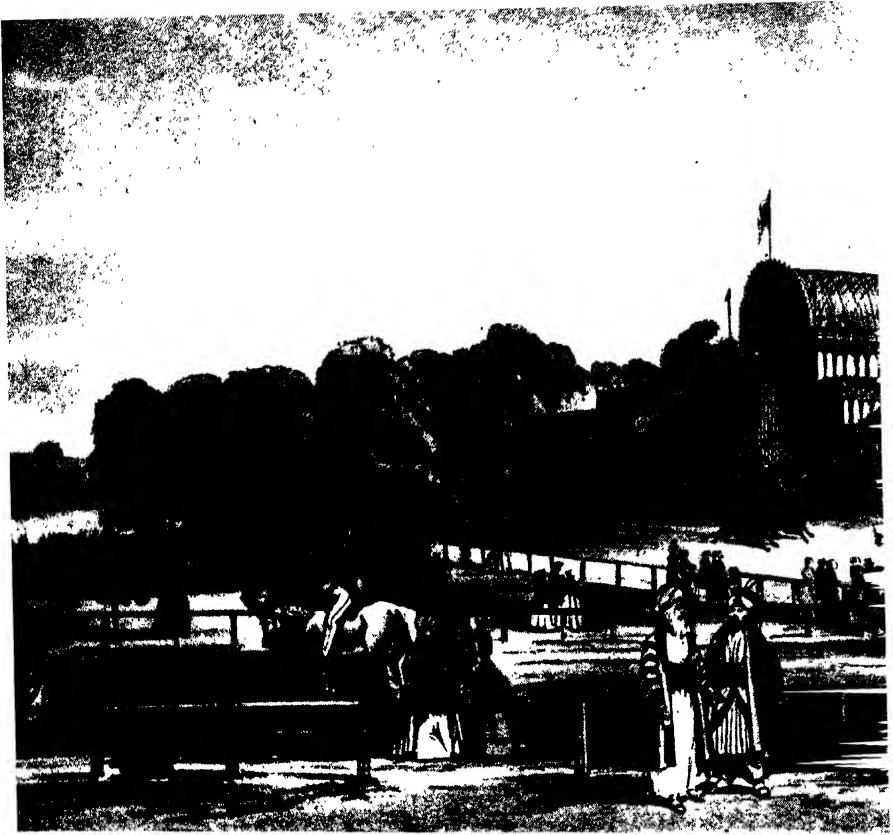
Even more significant was the new attitude to Trade Unions. The increase in the number of skilled workers needed in industry, the greater opportunities for better-paid labour, and the general improvement in working conditions, had combined to soften the bitterness of the old unions, which had been so determinedly repressed. Moreover, the idea of the repression of workers did not fit well into the prevalent doctrines of freedom. It was mainly through the work of William Allan, a far-seeing and kindly Scot, that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed in 1851, as a "New Model" for Trade

Unions. It was, in the first place, a national and not a local union, consisting of the amalgamation of many smaller bodies and essentially a union of skilled workers. Secondly, emphasis was to be laid on the "Friendly Society" aspect of the union, and a weekly subscription of a shilling was levied in order to build up a fund mainly to be devoted to benevolent purposes. Thirdly, the Union was to seek arbitration in disputes rather than to resort to strikes. In this way it was hoped to develop in time a greater sense of co-operation and interdependence between employers and employees. A similar organization, the Carpenters' Union, followed under the guidance of Robert Applegarth. In 1863 Alexander Macdonald founded a union of miners.

Strikes Arouse Public Hostility

Already, however, this peaceful development had received an unfortunate check. Commercial prosperity seems to fluctuate in cycles, and 1857 was a bad year. Many of the surviving smaller local unions began to organize strikes and riots, of which the most violent were in Sheffield. There a local Saw-Grinders' Union began by destroying the tools of the trades and ended with murder. Inevitably the new Trade Unions, though they condemned the strikes in which none of their members had taken part, had to share the public hostility to unions aroused by the strikes. In 1867, when a treasurer of one of the unions ran away with the funds, the Court of the King's Bench stated that there could be no redress as the unions were not recognized in law. Although they had registered themselves as Friendly Societies, which had such recognition and legal protection, they were not Friendly Societies in fact, and nothing could be done about it. Nothing, that is to say, except to change the law, and this would be unlikely unless Parliament were made representative of the working classes.

The possibility of further extending the franchise had already attracted the more liberal Members of Parliament, and a number of political reform bills had been introduced and defeated. In 1864, Gladstone had said: "Every man who is not presumably incapacitated is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution."



THE GREAT EXHIBITION

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was conceived only in 1849, though it received enthusiastic support from Prince Albert, who suggested that the exhibition should be held in Hyde Park. The final design was not selected until the following year, and the whole work of erecting the great buildings and equipping them for the exhibition took ten months in all. The building, which represented a totally new idea in architecture, was called the Crystal Palace. It was later pulled down and re-erected on the summit of Sydenham Hill, where it continued as the scene of entertainments of many kinds until it was destroyed by fire in 1936. The Great Exhibition marked the peak of Victorian prosperity and enterprise. It undoubtedly enhanced Britain's prestige all over the world. Moreover, so far as popular support was concerned it was a success from the beginning. Six million people attended it in the course of six months.

In 1865, Palmerston, who would have vigorously opposed any further tampering with the Government, died, just before his eighty-first birthday. Russell, who took over the premiership, introduced a moderate Bill, which roused the country's interest, but led to the defeat of the Government.

The general elections, which returned a Conservative Government under Lord Derby, had revealed the country's awakened

interest in the question. Disraeli, recognizing that some measure of "reform" was inescapable, and determining to "dish the Whigs," introduced a Bill conferring the franchise on all householders in towns if they were ratepayers, and on country occupiers rated at £15. Amendment after amendment was forced through the House by the Liberal opposition, so that by the time the Bill had passed both Commons



and Lords, who feared that a General Election would bring in the Liberals and a still wider measure, the new Act had virtually enfranchised the artisan class. The Act of 1832 had enfranchised the "middle class," and had added 455,000 votes to the roll. The Act of 1867 enfranchised the working class, adopted a complete household suffrage in the towns, and added over a million voters to the register. It was, in Lord Derby's words, "a leap in the dark." There can be no doubt, however, that

Disraeli had made the leap with his eyes wide open, for to him the measure meant the beginning of a new conservatism, a "Tory Democracy" which implied an alliance between the "aristocracy" and the workers. Palmerston, a short time before his death, had said: "You will see strange things when I am gone."

It seemed as though his words were to be true, though he had been thinking not of Disraeli but of Gladstone when he made that remark.

Test Yourself

1. Outline briefly the development of Free Trade as Britain's economic policy.
2. What is the significance of the Great Exhibition of 1851?
3. Of Robert Owen's many experiments, discuss the following three: (a) the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union; (b) the Labour Exchanges; (c) the Model Communities.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.



LONDON RAGAMUFFINS, 1871

This contemporary picture is entitled A London Schoolboard Capture, and is a commentary on the passing of W. E. Forster's Education Act of 1870. This Act, which was extremely unpopular with many sections of the community, made education compulsory from the ages of five to twelve, thus effectively preventing the employment of children under twelve except before and after school hours. It was regarded as an infringement of the liberty of the subject, and there was a constant struggle in the poorer parts of the industrial towns between the parents (whose resentment sprang from the reduction in the earning power of the family) on one side and the enforcement officers and the police on the other.

GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI: A CLASH OF IDEALS

IT would be difficult to imagine two men more unlike than Gladstone and Disraeli, the dominating figures of British political life for more than a decade after Palmerston's death. Gladstone, scholar and theologian, sternly courteous, intensely earnest, given to righteous indignation, with little humour other than that of irony, frugal in habits, sincerely religious, such was the new leader of the Liberals, or, rather, the leader of a new liberalism. In thinking of his great political opponent, so much of whose life was spent on the Opposition benches, different words leap to the mind. Disraeli was brilliant, imaginative, a Romantic, a dreamer, an aesthete, a visionary with practical commonsense, a man who loved humanity. As Professor Ramsay Muir once said, with two such men as leaders politics could never be mean, and certainly could never be dull.

Peel's virtual abolition of the Corn Law in 1846 had destroyed the Conservative party, and only gradually did any new clearly defined policy emerge to differentiate the parties anew. The small body which had supported Peel had, under Gladstone, joined the Liberals and infused into the new party a spirit of idealism which crystallized into a programme of liberties; freedom from obsolete aristocratic privilege; freedom of conscience, and of speech; political freedom and freedom to exercise it. But the responsible exercise of such freedoms demanded education, and, at the beginning of the century, only one Englishman in eight could read or write. All these the Gladstonian Liberals planned to put into effect.

Except for the obvious necessity of extending opportunities for an improved system of education, this programme seemed to Disraeli one of barren privileges. Disliking the commercial middle-class materialist, and seeing no more in the

scheme than that it aimed to bring more people into that condition of stolid mediocrity which he despised, Disraeli wanted government *for* the people, not *by* the people. He saw a benevolent aristocracy using political authority to improve the general living conditions of the masses of the people who could not be expected to do this for themselves. He had said in *Sybil*, through the mouth of Egremont, that the English aristocracy was no longer oppressive. "Their intelligence, better than that, their hearts, are open to the responsibilities of their position. . . . They are the natural leaders of the People, Sybil; believe me, they are the only ones."

Both Gladstone and Disraeli were thinking of the "People" of the needs of the great body of British workers one section of which had just been enfranchised. Both were to have in turn an opportunity of putting into effect the political programmes they respectively advocated. The general elections which followed the Political Reform Act of 1867 returned the Liberals to parliament with a majority of one hundred and fifteen. Gladstone's first ministry (1868-74) included, amongst its reforms, the establishment of religious equality and agrarian justice in Ireland, a national system of education, the virtual creation of the modern army as a national institution, the protection of the voter by the ballot system, and a more systematic organization of British justice. Gladstone himself was, for the most part, pre-occupied with the Irish problems, which are separately discussed in the next chapter. To some of the other reforms which put into effect the doctrine of the new liberalism it is necessary to turn.

Many people in England (and for once the Scots will not object to the use of the word) still hold the view that education, by which they mean that of the schools, is



COTTON-MILL OPERATIVES

Between 1850 and 1900 the number employed in the cotton mills almost doubled in spite of the fact that the age at which children could commence work in the mills was constantly advanced during that period. The cotton industry perhaps more than any other was the subject of reform by Act of Parliament. As a result conditions in the mills improved steadily, although the standard of living of the workers remained below the average of the people as a whole. The industry, however, was prosperous apart from the period of the cotton famine caused by the American Civil War. Some of the specialized occupations listed on this print of 1862 were throstle-doffer, winder, hot-water woman and throstle-spinner.

an academic frivolity which spoils the working poor by making them dissatisfied with their station, which is unrelated to the practical needs of life, and which is demonstrably unnecessary to material success. The mayor and the business magnate who boast that they were practically uneducated are still with us. It was Lecky who said that appreciation of education is itself a consequence of education. The commercial view that the education of "the masses" was a waste of public money was strong in nineteenth-century England, and elementary education before 1870 subsisted on meagre government grants given conditionally to voluntary organizations supported by charity.

In 1798 a twenty-year-old Quaker named

Joseph Lancaster gathered a few poor children and, at his father's home, began to instruct them in the elements of reading and writing. He charged no fee, though parents who could afford it could contribute a trifle. Soon he was trying to cope with a thousand children. A room was provided by a number of interested philanthropists; slates, a desk covered with sand in which children wrote with their fingers, and pages torn from spelling books and pasted on boards, provided the main equipment. As there were no teachers Lancaster developed the "monitorial system," in which elder pupils, or monitors, passed on what they learned to the younger ones. In time Lancaster could leave the school to the care of the monitors while he

interested others to found similar schools. The movement grew beyond the capacity of individual control and passed under the direction of the Royal Lancasterian Institution, known later as the British and Foreign School Society.

The Anglican Church, alarmed at the growth of an educational system which was Nonconformist in origin, founded in 1811 the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England. The guiding spirit was Dr. Bell, who claimed to have invented the monitorial system during teaching experience in India. Some such system was, of course, the only possible one in the absence of trained teachers and in schools financed by charitable contributions.

George III had patronized the Lancasterian schools in their early days, but the first national assistance given to these voluntary efforts was a grant of £20,000 made by the First Reformed Parliament in

1833. The grant was offered to the two voluntary societies on condition that an amount equal to the proportion of the grant received should be raised by voluntary subscription, and that it should be spent only on the provision of school buildings. By 1839 the grant had risen to £30,000, less than half the amount spent by Parliament in the same year on the Royal stables, and a committee of the Privy Council was appointed to supervise the spending of the grant. Two inspectors, one for each society's schools, were appointed. Part of the grant could now be spent on equipment and even on salaries, but the condition that a sum had to be raised by each society equal to the amount of the grant received was an advantage to the National Schools of the Church of England, which made less claims on voluntary contributions from its members than did the Nonconformist churches.

By 1857 the grant had reached £500,000,

HOP-PICKING, 1858

Hops proved a variable crop, liable to serious damage from insects, disease and weather, before modern methods of erecting break-winds were developed. During the nineteenth century, owing to the increasing consumption of beer there was a marked expansion in the industry, which continued until cheap imported hops were introduced. This view of nearly a hundred years ago illustrates the annual influx from London into the Kentish hop-fields for the harvest. The smock and round hat worn by the workers were part of the recognized uniform of agricultural labourers at the time.



which alarmed Palmerston, who wanted all the money he could obtain for purposes of military defence. Accordingly a Royal Commission under the Duke of Newcastle was appointed to make a report on the work of the two educational societies. The Report, issued in 1861, revealed the inevitable inefficiency of such a system, and Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Council and member of the Education Committee, said that "if education were not cheap it should be efficient; if it were not efficient, it should be cheap." Accordingly the "Revised Code" laid down a principle of "Payment by Results," an iniquitous, commerce-flavoured scheme, from which British education has suffered ever since. The grant to each school depended on the number of children's attendances and on the number who passed from "standard" to "standard" as a result of an inspector's examination. In practice this meant that the inspector, compelled to keep down the

grant, had to "fail" as many as possible, while the master, by caning and cramming, tried to force as many as possible through this annual test. At this time about one child in three was attending schools of this kind, with the elements of "the three R's" and, in the National Schools, of the Catechism, thrashed into the children by teachers themselves uneducated in any real sense of the term, in an age when "to spare the rod was to spoil the child."

While this slovenly and unintelligent system of child-training by voluntary societies and grudging grants was all that England could offer in the field of elementary education, Prussia had developed the finest system of education in Europe. France was not far behind, and, for those who looked for practical advantages, the American States which had won the Civil War were those in which a relatively advanced system of education was developing. After the enfranchisement of the artisan class in

WESTMINSTER SLUMS

Though some of the worst slums in London and the provincial towns were beginning to be cleared after the middle of the nineteenth century, those of Westminster continued to be notoriously among the worst (compare page 160). There is a tradition that the ill-repute of these slums derived from the Middle Ages when criminals who might need to seek sanctuary sought to live near the Abbey.





AN EXCURSION VAN OF THE 1860s

This drawing shows what is called an excursion van starting off on Easter Monday of 1862. Travel for the masses was a new conception in Victorian days, but in the second half of the nineteenth century there were many more tours and day trips at prices within the range of the unskilled worker. Mr. Cook's remarkable series of excursions in the Midlands were an example of what could be achieved for the people and showed the way towards holidays for all. The railways, of course, played a big part in making this possible, but there was always a prejudice in the minds of the middle and upper classes against this form of excursion.

1867 further delay was impossible, and Robert Lowe had said: "We must now set about educating our masters." Many organizations had been founded to stimulate public interest and to advocate particular views. One of these, "The Birmingham Education League," went so far as to plead for a free, compulsory, national system of secular education, with religious instruction left to parents. Gladstone could spare little time from his Irish problems, and the task of drafting an Education Bill was left to W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Council.

Forster's task was difficult. The Liberals always drew a great measure of support from the Nonconformists, and a scheme based on the granting of further support to the voluntary system would have alienated the Nonconformists, as most of the voluntary schools were now those of the Anglican National Society. On the other hand, a scheme which abolished all the voluntary schools would have angered the Church and would have seemed an unnecessary wastage of money. The resultant measure was a compromise which pleased hardly anybody. In Forster's own words the object

he had in mind was "to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it could be done without." England and Wales were divided into school districts. If in any such district the elementary education was considered to be adequately catered for by the voluntary societies, the provisions of the Act "let it alone so long as it continued in that state." Where there was inadequate educational opportunity, a School Board, with power to levy a rate, was set up. The Boards were elected bodies, and were responsible for the establishment, equipment, and maintenance of schools in their respective districts. Many old surviving elementary schools are still known locally as "Board schools" and others as "National schools." Fees were not to exceed ninepence a week, and Boards could arrange for the payment of the fees of children of very poor parents. None of the three points of the Birmingham Education League, that education should be compulsory, free, and secular, had been realized by the Bill. The Dissenters objected that the Bill had not specifically excluded doctrinal instruction in religious matters, and to the authority given to the School Boards to decide what aid should be given to the voluntary schools from the rate.

Foundation of National Education

Several amendments were made to the Bill. The Cowper-Temple Clause provided that no specifically religious doctrine should be taught in the Board schools; any religious teaching given in the schools should be given in the first lesson of the day so that parents with a conscientious objection to such teaching could keep the child away until the second period of the day; no voluntary schools were to receive assistance from the rates, but the State Grant to all schools was increased. The Act, though it disappointed so many and for such different reasons, laid the foundation of a national system of education. From 1870 to 1880 the number of State-aided schools in England and Wales increased from about nine thousand to about eighteen thousand, of which 3,692 were Board schools. In 1876 School Boards were empowered to make by-laws enforcing compulsory attendance. The Act of 1880 compelled local authorities

to frame such by-laws. In 1891 elementary schools fees were abolished.

Meanwhile Gladstone had appointed a Commission to inquire into the state of the Endowed schools or Grammar schools, to continue the investigations of a Commission set up in 1864. In many of the Endowed schools with considerable incomes derived from old charitable bequests there were very few pupils, in some the headmaster, drawing a good salary, had little or nothing to do for it, and where there were pupils the teaching was often poor and the curriculum antiquated. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 appointed three commissioners who were empowered to make such modifications in the articles of foundation as would lead to the better use of available funds, but nothing adequate was done as yet to create a system of sound secondary education.

Increasing Tolerance

A step towards the improvement of secondary education, though one which also was to tend to make such education academically narrow, was the formation of a joint board by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1873. This Board organized examinations in which successful candidates were granted exemption from the preliminary examinations of the Universities. Nonconformists could not proceed to a degree at either University and could not even matriculate at Oxford. Gladstone, who had been parliamentary member for Oxford until 1865, had resisted the growing demand that Nonconformists, to whom the highest councils of the Empire were open, should no longer be excluded from graduation. Gladstone, after 1865, had declared himself to be "unmuzzled"; in 1871 he abolished the religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge except for Theological Chairs and College Headships, and initiated other legislation which was considerably to increase the prestige and influence of the Universities. One early result of this was that in London and many provincial towns colleges were founded, many of which were to develop into provincial Universities. The beginning at least of a national system of education can be traced to the work of Gladstone's First Ministry.

Herbert W. Paul concludes his life of Gladstone with the comment:

The list of his legislative achievements stops at 1885. But what a list it is! He reformed the tariff of his country; he was the real author of household suffrage; he gave Ireland religious equality and agrarian justice; he established the system of elementary education; he protected the voter by ballot; he made the Army a national institution; he restored efficiency to the House of Commons; he gave the franchise to the agricultural labourer. He was a demagogue in the proper sense of the term, a true leader of the people. He exhorted them always to employ the political freedom he had so largely given them, less for their own material advancement than for the best and highest interests of mankind.

Of this formidable list of achievements all but the reformation of the tariff and the extensions of the franchise, for which he could claim only partial responsibility, lie within the period of his First Ministry. The list might be extended; for all the Services, the military, naval, and civil, were overhauled.

Nothing had been done to improve the condition of the Army since Waterloo, and the Crimean War had exposed its inefficiency and the poverty of its training. Moreover, the Indian Mutiny which followed in the wake of the Crimean War involved in the future the maintenance of a bigger and more efficient force in India than had been customary, while Prussia's astonishing military successes against Austria in 1866 and her aggressive policy were becoming alarming. The commissioned ranks were the privileged monopoly of the wealthy, and were regarded as providing opportunity for a fashionable career rather than as a military responsibility. The non-commissioned soldier, on the other hand, had to enlist for a lifetime of dreary drilling under a harsh and often cruel discipline.

Gladstone entrusted the task of reforming the Army to Edward Cardwell, and he began by centralizing the control of the Army under the single authority of the Secretary of State for War. An advisory army council, on which the various

COUNTRY FAIR, 1865

Some of the illustrations in the previous chapter indicated the growing prosperity of the rural community during the nineteenth century. The second half of the century marked a still further advance in the well-being of the farmers and to a lesser extent of the workers engaged in agriculture. This prosperity is reflected in the increasing scale of the country fairs, which by now had almost ceased to be trade fairs in the medieval tradition, but had become events organized for entertainment with side-shows and other diversions.





THE FORTY-FIRST REGIMENT IN CAMP

This contemporary print is a commentary on conditions at the time of the Crimean War, which revealed some of the deficiencies in the organization and equipment of the British Army. Even so, the whole of the nineteenth century had been the heyday of the long-service professional army, which was triumphant in the exacting conditions of many colonial wars. The idea of a citizen army was first expressed in Europe in the French armies raised to defend the Republic under Lafayette. Previously, in all European countries, from the end of the medieval age of chivalry, armies were largely composed of mercenaries.

departments of the Army were represented, was established. To the annoyance of the House of Lords the purchase of commissions was made illegal by Royal Warrant. To avoid the burden of a large permanent Army and to meet at the same time the possible contingency that a large and efficient Army might be needed at short notice for service in any part of Britain's growing empire, Cardwell instituted the system of short service followed by

a period of reserve. The Army was organized on a territorial basis, that is, each regiment had a recruiting area, and he introduced the system of linked battalions, of which one served at home, the other overseas. By these reforms the modern British Army was created.

In the Navy experiments with steam, iron plating, iron ships, ships with armoured gun-turrets, and the like had been slowly transforming the style of warships.



One experimental vessel, the *Captain*, had sunk with all her crew, and Childers, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who had been responsible for the building and launching of the vessel, resigned. He was succeeded by Viscount Goschen, whom Gladstone transferred from the Presidency of the Poor Law Board. Goschen reorganized the Admiralty, much on its present lines. It is presided over by a Cabinet Minister known as the "First Lord," who is advised by a number of "Sea Lords," each of whom is a senior officer of the Royal Navy and an expert on some naval department. Soon new vessels of the armour-plated type, armed with long-range guns, replaced the obsolete vessels.

Having reconstituted both the military and naval services, Gladstone's energetic ministry turned to the reform of the Civil

Service and the Judicature. The system we have observed in the Admiralty, that of a civilian with Cabinet rank in charge, but advised by a body of professional experts, was Britain's way of avoiding bureaucratic government and of making her executive officers responsible to the minister. Cardwell, who had brought the Army into line with this practice, had also provided that the experts, the military officers, should no longer be men who gained official rank merely through favour or purchase. Before 1870 the chief posts in the Civil Service had been regarded as lucrative sinecures secured by favoured patronage, except in the Indian Service, which since the Mutiny had employed a competitive examination for its appointments. In 1870 he tried to introduce the method of competitive examination into the whole of the Civil



REVIEW IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK

Queen Victoria took a personal interest in the Army and wholeheartedly endorsed Cardwell's reforms, which popularized it as a career by reducing the length of service to six years with the colours and six years with the reserve. The occasion of this march-past of the troops before the Queen in Windsor Great Park was the successful conclusion of the Ashanti War of 1873. Ashanti, the Negro kingdom north of the Gold Coast, had twice provoked war with Britain; in 1873 the Ashanti Army advanced towards the Gold Coast. Sir Garnet Wolseley, afterwards Lord Wolseley, was the general officer commanding the British forces which defeated the Ashantis and occupied their capital on 4 February, 1874.

Service, but the opposition of influential families was such that he left it to individual departments to decide. Within a few years all departments except the Foreign Office had selected the method of examination.

In 1873 Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, carried out reforms which ended the chaotic condition of Britain's judicial system, if the amendments of the next few years can be included as part of the reform. Before the Judicature Act there were eight types of superior court, each with its traditional form of procedure, and most with separate judicial staffs. The same process of unification already applied to the services was applied to the judicature. There was to be one Supreme Court of Judicature, divided into the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeals. After 1876 appeals could be carried a stage further, to the House of Lords. The High Court consisted

of (1) the Queen's Bench, under the Lord Chief Justice and fifteen judges; (2) the Chancery Division, under the Lord Chancellor and six judges; and (3) the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, under the President and one judge. These High Court judges attended the Assize Courts on circuit. The presiding officers of these three divisions, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Chancellor, and the President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, together with the Master of the Rolls and five Lords Justices of Appeal, constituted the Courts of Appeal.

These important reforms by no means exhausted the energy or zeal of this extraordinary ministry. A Mines Act of 1872 codified the existing laws, which demanded adequate ventilation and fencing, the provision of brakes for the working of the cages and of indicators to show their posi-

tion in the shafts, and, since 1862, the provision of two shafts for each mine. The Act of 1872 insisted that mines-managers should hold a certificate of competency, to gain which they had to pass an examination. In the same year the Ballot Act established the system of secret voting at parliamentary elections after the intermittent agitation of nearly a century, for before the Chartists had included it as one of their six points it had formed part of the programme of the Society for Constitutional Information in 1780. A disappointing Trade Union Act in 1871 had safeguarded the funds of Trade Unions by recognizing them as legal bodies, so long as they committed no crimes, but had made strikes and even peaceful picketing virtually criminal offences.

It will be sufficient to refer to one other of the ministry's reforms, that which closed the public-houses at eleven o'clock at night, and forbade the sale of alcoholic liquors on Sunday mornings. Except for an Act of 1839, which had closed beer-houses between midnight on Saturdays and noon on Sun-

days, public-houses could usually keep open as long as the publican wished. A great proportion of the crime of the country was considered to be due to the drunkenness which characterized most of the industrial towns at night, and movements for absolute prohibition were gaining support. A Bill introduced in 1871, proposing to close superfluous public-houses and to restrict the hours of sale considerably in those left open, angered the brewers, the publicans, and great numbers of workers, while it was opposed by the temperance group as a half-hearted measure. A less stringent measure, the Licensing Act of 1872, which closed the public-houses at eleven as stated above, failed to satisfy even its promoters, but it was a much-needed reform.

The abolition of privileges and the reformation of systems which have become traditional are certain ways of making enemies, and Gladstone's Liberal ministry had made many. The Education Act had displeased the Nonconformists and had not

COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH, 1870

There was considerable and progressive reform of the Law Courts during the reign of Queen Victoria. The Court of Queen's Bench at the time this drawing was made exercised a supreme and general jurisdiction, which included criminal jurisdiction and jurisdiction over the judgments of inferior courts. The Judicature Act of 1873 revised the functions of the court, which became the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.



satisfied the churchmen, who were embittered by Gladstone's disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The reforms in the Services had robbed the ruling class of cherished privileges, and many of the more conservative-minded were feeling that no institution was safe from the meddling interference of the Liberals. The Lords were alarmed at Gladstone's use of the Royal Warrant and other devices to short-circuit their opposition to his measures; the Trade Unions were disappointed in an Act which had made even peaceful picketing illegal; the brewers were frankly hostile; employers condemned the Ballot Act for its "pander-

ing to the masses," and regretted that it would no longer be possible to direct the votes of their employees. More than all else, however, Gladstone's foreign policy aroused widespread criticism. A policy of what would now be called "appeasement" seemed a chicken-hearted contrast to the vigorous jingoism of Palmerston. Faced with dissension even in the Cabinet, Gladstone in 1873 handed his resignation to the Queen, who invited Disraeli to form a Ministry. Disraeli was not to be tempted, for "the pear was not yet ripe," and Disraeli, like Napoleon, preferred to wait until it was. He had not to wait long. Compelled to make changes in the Cabinet,

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY WORKHOUSE

This drawing is of a new ward opened at Marylebone Workhouse in 1867. Illustrations in earlier chapters have pictured some of the institutions for the relief of the poor in previous centuries. The workhouse system which persisted almost unchanged into the twentieth century was introduced in 1834, when all the parishes of England and Wales were organized into some hundreds of Poor Law "Unions" each of which was required to set up and maintain a "well-regulated workhouse." These institutions became the only certain source of relief for the "casual poor," destitute able-bodied men and their families. Religious motifs, which often decorated the walls at this time, are seen here.





VOTING BY BALLOT

The Ballot Act of 1872 made secret voting compulsory in all parliamentary and municipal elections. Previously voting had been entirely public and carried on at hustings (compare the illustration on page 191). A secret ballot was first adopted in England during the elections of 1870 in response to charges of intimidation, which may well have been justified at some earlier elections. It is significant, however, that the elections following the passing of the Ballot Act did not show any marked trend as a result of the new procedure for voting.

Gladstone decided to take again his old office of Chancellor of the Exchequer and to carry out his old dream of abolishing the income tax. The ministers who were called upon to make economies in the expenditure sufficient to outweigh the loss of the income tax insisted that so important a matter should be left to the judgment of the people. In January, 1874, Gladstone asked the Queen to dissolve Parliament. The General Election resulted in the return of the Conservative party with a majority which surprised even Disraeli.

The Conservative party had not had a majority in the House since 1846, when Peel's abolition of the corn tax had disrupted it. The followers of Peel, one of whom was Gladstone, had joined the Liberals, and it had been Disraeli's task to create a new Conservative party and to give it a programme. Though some of the

essentials of this new Conservative policy had found expression in Disraeli's early writings and speeches, the programme as a whole had been hammered out from the Opposition Benches; its main tenets were, therefore, antithetical to those of the Liberals to an unusual degree. Whereas Gladstone had pursued a tranquil and even conciliatory foreign policy, Disraeli wished to revive British prestige abroad in the Palmerstonian fashion. Whereas Gladstone had left the colonies much to their own devices, Disraeli may almost be said to have created the concept of the British Empire. Whereas Gladstone felt that the will of the Commons should be supreme, Disraeli wished to strengthen the "aristocracy," to popularize and strengthen the monarchy, and to "maintain the Constitution of the country." For Gladstone's political reforms, which Disraeli described

as having assailed or menaced every institution and every interest, every class, and every calling in the country, the Conservatives purposed to substitute a policy of social reform.

Disraeli's Ministry, like that of Gladstone, had six years in which to put these principles into practice. Space permits only a glance at the achievements of the Ministry outside the field of social legislation, but they were of the brilliant imaginative quality his early career had led one to expect. Disraeli conceived Britain as the centre of a world-wide Empire which, if welded into a conscious entity, would enable Britain to withstand the growing rivalries of European States. "The Queen of England," he said, "has become the Sovereign of the most powerful of Oriental States. On the other side of the globe are establishments belonging to her teeming with wealth and population." Disraeli had determined not only to strengthen this Empire, but to make Britain conscious and proud of it. On his own initiative, and using his personal friendship with the great bank-

ing house of Rothschild, Disraeli bought for Britain the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal. They cost £4,000,000. At the beginning of the present century they were worth £30,000,000 and were yielding an annual income of about £1,000,000, a quarter of the original cost. The purchase, however, was not considered as an investment, but as a means of safeguarding our routes to India and the East. The Canal had been open for six years, and if the Khedive's shares had fallen to France, which already held nearly half the shares in the Canal Company, the Suez would have been entirely French-controlled, though nine-tenths of the shipping which passed through it was British.

It was part of this same policy which inspired Disraeli to send the Prince of Wales to India on a tiger-shooting expedition, and which led him to persuade Parliament, in 1876, to pass an Act which gave to the Queen the title of "Empress of India."

Less fortunate was his annexation of the Boer colony known as the Transvaal, to "protect" it from the Zulus, for when

INTERIOR OF A TRAMCAR

The idea of road vehicles running on rails originated in New York in 1832. The first horse-drawn trams on the public roads in England appeared about 1860 in Birkenhead and in London in the following year. The print reproduced above shows the interior of a horse-drawn tram about 1870, running between Brixton and Kennington. Electric trams were not introduced until the turn of the century, but in 1884 there was an interesting experiment with a steam-cable tram, though this was short-lived and was regarded by many as dangerous.





MATCHBOX MAKERS IN 1871

Matches in the modern sense of the term did not come into general use until about 1834, though there were phosphorous tapers as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. The principle underlying these latter was that a taper coated with phosphorus and sealed would light by contact with the air when the seal was removed. Safety matches were introduced between 1855 and 1860. The rapidity with which the industry expanded was one of the causes of its notoriously bad conditions. Matchbox making, for example, grew from a cottage to a factory industry almost overnight. It was one of the industries to which nineteenth-century reformers pointed with great justice when campaigning against sweated labour. The drawing reproduced above from a print of 1871 illustrates the conditions of a family living in Bow, London, every one of whom was engaged in the work of making matchboxes for which the financial return was pitifully small.

Britain had defeated the Zulus, after suffering defeat herself, the Boers demanded the return of their colony and defeated the British troops in occupation at Majuba Hill. By that time Disraeli's government had fallen, and Gladstone returned the colony to the Boers. But the event was not forgotten, and British imperialism was to turn again to Africa.

Disraeli's fear of Russian ambitions in India, a fear inherited from Palmerston, led to unfortunate interference and to war in Afghanistan, and, within a hair's-breadth, to war with Russia. No phase of Disraeli's policy raised, throughout Britain, more emotional enthusiasm and more

hostile criticism than the policy which this fear of Russia led him to pursue in the Balkans. The Christian peoples of the Balkans had made many attempts to overthrow their tyrannical Turkish rulers, and Britain had developed the fear that any Christian States which gained their independence in the Balkans would fall under the influence of Russia, which State, if possessing Constantinople, would have control of the routes to India. After the Crimean War the Turks had promised to cease their tyrannical practices, but these promises had not been kept.

Further insurrections led to Russian intervention and, by the Treaty of San



CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

Bismarck, the German Chancellor, and Lord Beaconsfield, who with Lord Salisbury represented Great Britain at the Congress of Berlin, are pictured here at the Kaiserhof Hotel. The Congress of Berlin was held at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War. Beaconsfield greatly impressed Bismarck with his firmness; Bismarck's influence, fortified by Beaconsfield's statesmanship, resulted in the Russians agreeing to a settlement in South-east Europe which was at the time regarded as reasonable. Previously Lord Beaconsfield had been instrumental in assuring Britain's continued support of Turkey as an indirect means of defending the route to India against Russia.

Stefano, to the virtual emancipation of the greater part of the Balkans under Russian protection. To Gladstone, who came out of partial retirement to say so, this was a triumph for Christianity and for liberty. To Disraeli it was a catastrophe. His insistence that the affair was of European concern led to the summoning of the Congress of Berlin under Bismarck's presidency. Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield since 1876, and Lord Salisbury represented Britain.

In the words of Bismarck, the Congress took the piece of butter from the dog's mouth. The Treaty of San Stefano was torn up, the greater part of Bulgaria passed back into dependence on Turkey, and a new lease of life was given to "The Sick Man of Europe," that is, to Turkey, who was not so very sick after all. Even more likely to lead to future trouble was the

placing of Bosnia under Austrian protection, for Austria, excluded from western expansion by the recent Prussianization of Germany, was looking across the Adriatic for compensation. When Disraeli returned, claiming to have brought back "Peace with Honour," he was enthusiastically welcomed, and the Queen awarded him the Knighthood of the Garter. But there were many who just as strongly disapproved of the whole matter.

The policy which these events expressed was to prove of greater significance than the events themselves. It was to produce a generation of British people wildly enthusiastic about the Empire, arrogantly proud of British colonial and commercial pre-eminence, and increasingly conscious of the hostile challenge from other nations which this very policy was hardening. This atti-

tude cut right across the Liberal idealism of a world in which nations pursued their development in co-operative friendship for the common good. In varying degrees of intensity the two views have persisted and are still with us. The change from one policy to another, with the swing of the political pendulum, made British policy appear not only inconsistent but hypocritical to peoples unfamiliar with the British parliamentary system, and colonial officials had no security against the complete reversal of their policies by a new ministry.

Meanwhile the social reforms which had formed the other aspect of the Conservatives' electoral programme had been entrusted to Richard Cross, the Lancashire business man who had more than justified Disraeli's choice of him for the Home Secretaryship. A number of local authorities had begun to replace the slums with good working-class houses, but before Cross's Artisans' Dwelling Act of 1875 there had been no national attempt to carry out this work. By this Act local authorities were empowered to buy and to demolish insanitary house property and to replace it with good houses which were to be let to workers at reasonable rents. By the Public Health Act local authorities were required to appoint a medical officer of health and an inspector of nuisances, and on their reports the councils had the authority to take action, but were not yet compelled to do so.

Closely related to these Acts was the Enclosure of Commons Act by which the further absorption of public land by land-owners was checked. In introducing this measure Cross had said that fresh air and open spaces were as much a necessity to the workers as was food.

"The Trade Unionists' Charter"

The Trade Union Act of 1871 had, as we have seen, been a disappointment to the workers in that it had made strikes and picketing criminal offences. The Act had, however, made Trade Unions legal bodies, and three Acts passed in Disraeli's ministry, together with that of 1871, constitute what has been called "The Trade Unionists' Charter." The joint effect of these Acts was to legalize picketing, so long as it did not resort to violence, and to remove from

Trade Unions the possibility of prosecution under the Conspiracy Acts for offences which would not be criminal if performed by an individual. Henceforward Trade Unions were to take a prominent part in the national life.

The final Act for which Cross was mainly responsible was the Factories and Workshops Act, which brought into a coherent system the piecemeal factory-legislation of the century. It also prohibited the employment of children under ten, and of persons between the ages of ten and fourteen for more than half a working day at a time. Women were not to be employed for more than fifty-six hours in a week.

"The Plimsoll Line"

So busy was the House with its social reforms that it had not time to spare for Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, who, as a private member, had been pleading for a Bill to safeguard sailors from being sent to sea in unseaworthy or overloaded ships. Disappointed, Plimsoll lost his temper, and, standing on the floor of the House, derided the members as villains. He rushed from the Commons, and later returned and apologized for his unparliamentary conduct. But it had had its effect! The Merchant Shipping Act of 1876, an extension of a temporary measure rushed through the House in 1875, made shipowners responsible for fixing a safe loadline for each voyage, and empowered the Board of Trade to detain ships considered unseaworthy or dangerously loaded. The load-line is still known as "The Plimsoll Line."

One result of the enfranchisement of the artisans in 1867, and of the vigorous reforms of the Gladstone and Disraeli Ministries, had been to bring "politics" into the constituencies, to the public platforms, and into the homes. It was to the workers that politicians had to appeal for votes, particularly since the Ballot Act. Moreover, the clear distinctions between liberalism and conservatism, the increased legislative enthusiasm for the improvement of social conditions, were matters which the worker felt to be of personal interest. Parliamentary candidates, to secure election, had to convince the artisan that their policy was in his favour, whereas the policy of the other party was not. Gladstone,

stirred into renewed activity by the belief that the Conservative policy was not only jeopardizing peace but was putting imperialism and commercial prosperity before the principles of Christianity and of freedom, emerged from his partial retirement to engage in a vigorous election campaign in the Midlothian constituency he proposed to represent. His energetic denunciation of Beaconsfieldism, of the rapidly increasing national expenditure and of the National Debt, and of a social policy of mere "sewage" spread far beyond the district round Edinburgh. At the General Elections of 1880 the Liberals were returned with a good majority, and Gladstone, who refused any office other than the principal, was at the age of seventy invited to form a new ministry. In the following year Beaconsfield died.

Troubles Beset Gladstone

From the first moment Gladstone's Second Ministry was in trouble. Charles Bradlaugh, the Member for Northampton, wished to affirm his loyalty rather than take the oath of allegiance, as he was an atheist. During the five years of the Ministry he struggled to establish this right, was prosecuted, imprisoned in the Clock Tower, expelled from the House, and four times re-elected by Northampton. Here was useful capital for the Opposition, which included a group of Young Conservatives, led by Lord Randolph Churchill, and determined to harass the Government to the utmost of their capacity. To persecute Bradlaugh was hardly consistent with the Liberal profession of the importance of freedom of conscience; to support him was intolerable to the strong Christian convictions of Gladstone. Not until the ministry had fallen was Bradlaugh admitted to the House which he served usefully for many years.

Far more serious were the troubles in Ireland, increasingly absorbing Gladstone's time and interest; far more tragic were the events in Egypt and the Sudan. The misgovernment and extravagance of the Khedive of Egypt, whose shares in the Suez Disraeli had bought, combined with the development of a Nationalist movement to expel the European intruders, alarmed British and French investors, and

a joint commission to safeguard their joint interests was appointed. In 1879 Ismail, the Khedive, was persuaded to abdicate in favour of the more pliable Tewfik, and, in 1882, fearing the increasing influence of the foreigners, the Nationalists rebelled under their fanatical leader Arabi Bey. The British, left by the French to act alone, defeated Arabi Bey, deported him to Ceylon, and had to remain to restore order, protect the Khedive and British interests. A new threat came from the Sudan, where a rising led by Muhammad Ahmad, claiming to be the Mahdi or Messiah, was directed against the Egyptian task-masters of the Sudan. The rising developed rapidly into an alarming threat. Egyptian forces were defeated and others were besieged. A British force was defeated and further help demanded from Britain.

Gladstone was faced with a dilemma. The Sudan was not our concern; the rising, viewed from this distance, appeared to the Liberals to be justified as the movement of an oppressed people demanding freedom. But British soldiers had been slain, British interests in Egypt were being threatened, and the Egyptian Government which we were protecting was demanding help. As a compromise the Government sent out, at his own request, General Gordon, who had served as Governor of Sudan. "Chinese Gordon" was one of the best loved men in London, and when news came that he was besieged at Khartoum, the Queen urged that help should be sent out without delay. There were months of delay, and when at last an expeditionary force arrived at Khartoum, Gordon had been dead two days. The Queen's anger was an expression of that felt by the nation.

Workers' Compensation

Even the domestic legislation aroused little enthusiasm. The Burials Act of 1880 permitted the burial of Nonconformists in parish churchyards. Tenant-farmers were allowed to hunt ground game by what became known as the Hare and Rabbits Act of 1880. In the same year the Employers' Liability Act gave workers the legal right to compensation for injuries due to accidents at work if negligence on the part of employers could be established.

It was toward the end of the Ministry's



THE COLOSSUS OF WORDS

This is how Punch saw Mr. Gladstone in 1879, his feet planted firmly on the two bulwarks of peace and retrenchment, while the little ship "Reform" sails between his legs and he holds aloft the twin torches of finance and foreign policy. The electoral campaign of 1879 was one of Gladstone's chief triumphs. His campaign in the Midlothian constituency became a rallying point for Liberals all over the country. His foreign policy and his call for greater reform were endorsed by the country at large. Lord Beaconsfield was swept from office, and Gladstone was Prime Minister from 1880-5.

life that an Act which more fittingly expressed liberal policy was passed: the Political Reform Act of 1884. The Bill, introduced in 1884, proposed to extend to agricultural workers the enfranchisement which had been granted to the industrial workers of the towns by the Act of 1867. The Bill was passed by the Commons, but the Lords refused their assent until a proposal to redistribute the seats had also been considered. Only the intervention of the Queen prevented the Ministry from making a serious attack on the powers of the House of Lords. A Redistribution Bill, which disfranchised a number of small boroughs and made other changes which brought the membership of the Commons up to 670, was approved, and the Franchise Bill became law. By this Act two million voters were added to the electorate. Shortly afterward, the Government was defeated on an amendment to the Budget, and Gladstone resigned. The new Register was not yet ready, and Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader, took office for a few months until it was. At the General Election the Liberals were returned again, but Gladstone, now determined to grant Home Rule to Ireland, failed to carry his party with him. For the second time in seven months Parliament was dissolved, and the electors placed the Conservatives in power. Liberalism was to lie dormant for many years.

Results of Industrial Specialization

Between the repeal of the Corn Law in 1846 and the granting of the right to the agricultural labourer to vote in parliamentary elections the centre of interest had resided in the towns. To the towns the politicians looked for votes and Ministers looked for revenue. British wealth, power, and prestige were dependent on industrial production, and food could be bought in the markets of the world. It could be bought from oversea markets, moreover, in far greater variety than from the home markets, and without the seasonal fluctuations of British farming. The Conservative Imperialist, rather like the old Mercantilist, saw Britain as the wealthy and industrial centre of world-wide colonial markets which would send us food and raw materials in exchange for our manufactures. Liberal

idealism, which pictured a world-wide economic organization, in which each nation contributed to the needs of the whole that which it could best produce, had to accept Britain as an industrial specialist. Consequently the complete collapse of British agriculture in the last quarter of the century caused little heartburning outside the rural areas, except that it caused more unskilled labourers to drift into the towns. And yet half the population of Britain was rural.

Farming in the Nineteenth Century

The decline of British agriculture did not begin, as many had thought it would, with the removal of protection in 1846. European nations had as yet little excess of corn for export. The great American granaries were not yet fully developed, and steam transport on land and sea was in its infancy. From 1854 to 1856 the Crimean War stopped for the time being the Black Sea supplies. The American Civil War of 1861 to 1865 kept the United States preoccupied. At home the increasing prosperity of the urban workers provided ample markets for the butter, milk, cheese, meat, and corn which the newly developed railway transport brought fresh from the farms.

While there was no immediate fall in agricultural profits, there was no improvement in the lot of the rural labourer. Wages varied from about eight shillings a week in the south-west to about eighteen shillings in the north. But the price of goods rose considerably in the third quarter of the century, partly because of the discoveries of gold in Australia and California, discoveries which reduced the value or purchasing power of gold coinage and, therefore, of other money related to the standard. There were no reforming councils in rural districts to build better houses and to provide other comforts for the workers, and, though there were no slums in the rural districts, there were tiny, damp, and insanitary cottages, often housing large families.

The first sign of the coming depression of British farming came about 1875, when the price of corn and vegetables, meat and dairy produce began to fall. In twenty years the price of wheat was halved. A series of wet seasons and very bad harvests



DEBATE ON THE HOME RULE BILL

Gladstone was himself a firm believer in Home Rule for Ireland, and to the Irish question his attention repeatedly turned in his later years. It was in 1886 that he introduced the first Home Rule Bill to the House of Commons. It was admirably drafted and supported by all the considerable eloquence at Gladstone's command yet failed to secure a majority. Gladstone did not despair and returned to the subject at every opportunity. In 1893, during his fourth term as Prime Minister, he came closest to achieving success. The Home Rule Bill on that occasion was passed by the House of Commons but did not become law because it met defeat in the Lords. Ireland was to remain a thorny problem for the British Parliament until the creation of the Irish Free State after the First World War.

from 1875 to 1880 compelled Britain to look for supplies from overseas. The United States had already reached the great cornlands of California, opened up the rich valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, and built transcontinental railways. Canada had bought from the Hudson Bay Company in 1869 the great prairies with their rich inexhaustible soil. Argentina and Australia were growing corn temporarily in order to reclaim land intended later for pasture, and were willing to sell such corn for any price offered for it.

Unable to compete with these great corn-producing regions, the British farmer could not turn to the production of meat and dairy produce for compensation, for

the opening of the Suez Canal, the development of steamships, and the inventions of artificial freezing, combined to bring supplies of meat, butter, cheese, and poultry from Australia, New Zealand, or America, in quantities which so reduced their prices that the British farmer was faced with ruin. Many farmers, persuaded by the preference for home-produced meat and dairy produce, turned over their arable land to grass, but their relief was only temporary. Many farmers went bankrupt, many farms were left unworked, and in others, where the farmer struggled on, the barns and buildings, fences and gates fell into shabby neglect. Only the labourers who were still employed were better off, for the fall in the

price of food meant that they could buy more even if their wages remained unchanged.

In 1939 was published a report on the state of British agriculture as the result of an inquiry organized by Viscount Astor and B. Seeborn Rowntree. In reviewing the *Changing Structure of British Agriculture* from 1866 and to 1933, the report states that "farmers have been driven from one commodity to another, only to be caught up and beaten as soon as they became established in each new venture . . . first to meat, then to dairying, more recently to eggs and vegetables. They have applied overseas methods in so far as local conditions allowed; they have learnt to economize in the use of labour; they have adopted more scientific ways of manuring the land, and of feeding stock. Yet still only the best of them have done this successfully, and many of the less able or less fortunate have perforce abandoned the industry." The report emphasizes the two effects which the improved standard of living in the industrial areas has had on the rural areas. Workers have been drawn away from the land at an accelerating speed, with the result of forcing up the wages of those remaining behind. Secondly, the character of the demand for food has changed: "Not only has there been a change in the type of foodstuffs eaten, but also in the quality and regularity of supply demanded."

Causes of Agricultural Depression

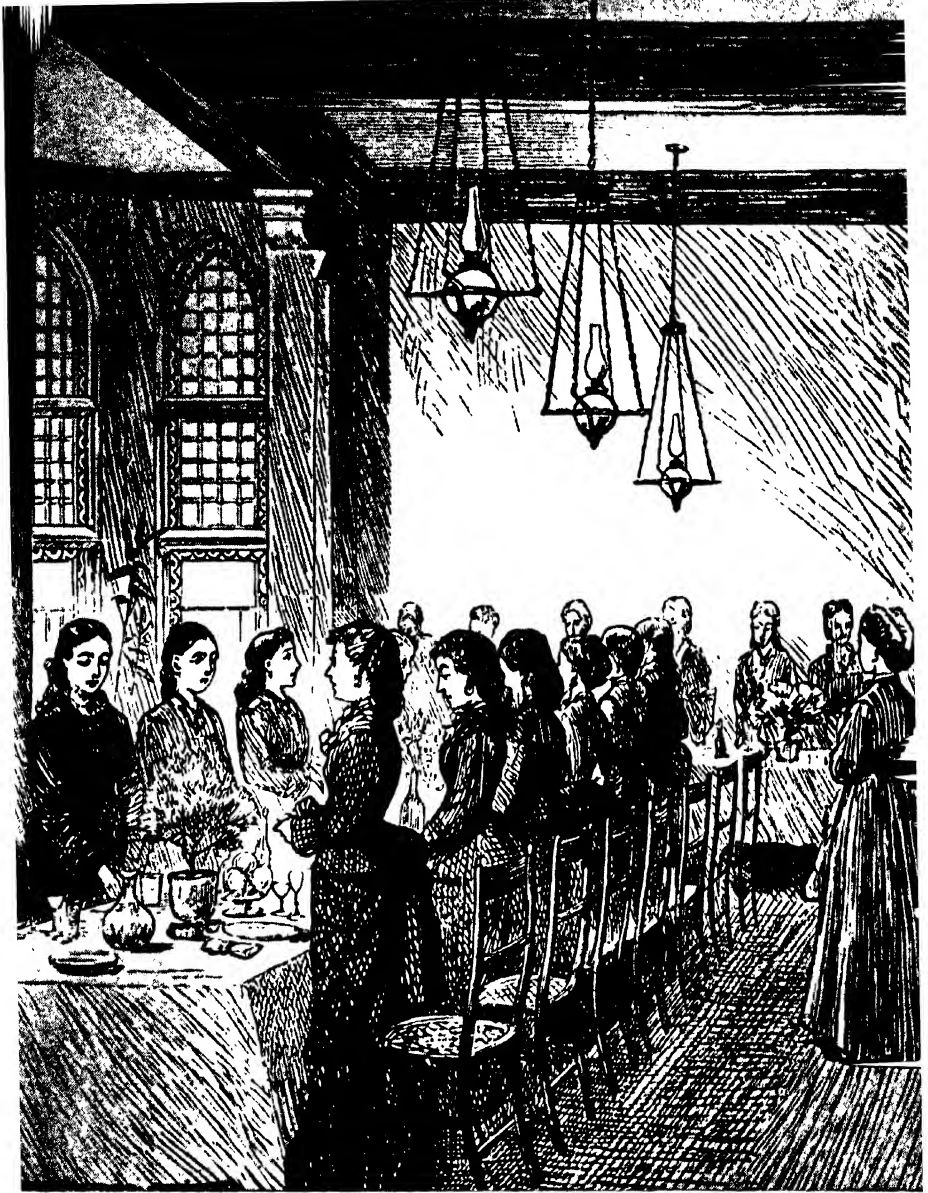
The significant point is that, in the development of a world-wide system of economy in which nations have to compete in world markets, each nation is compelled to specialize in that type of production for which its natural resources, its stage of development, and its inventive capacity best fit it. Britain had coal and iron; her industrial development had been for a long time unrivalled; her inventors had given the world most of its machinery, and its steam locomotion; her colonial development provided unique opportunities for overseas markets for her manufactures. Consequently Britain had become an industrial specialist. British farmers could no longer hope to compete in world markets, and had begun even to lose the home market. To

have accepted this condition would have implied the acceptance of Britain's complete dependence on overseas sources for her food, a condition which becomes alarming when war threatens to cut off overseas supplies. In the 'seventies there was no serious threat of war, and though a Royal Commission sat from 1879 to 1882 to inquire into the causes of the agricultural depression, its findings were pleasantly optimistic, and there were few outside the ranks of farmers and landlords very seriously concerned.

"The Victorian Revolution"

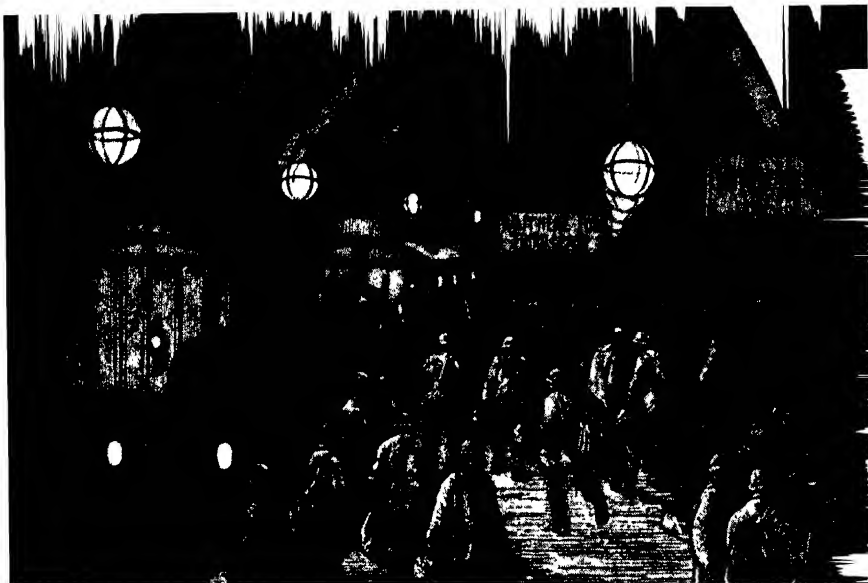
G. M. Young, in an essay on "Victorian History," wrote: "In 1850 we are in the past. In 1870 we are in a world continuous with our own. Between them lies the Victorian Revolution." It is not easy to define the precise nature of this "revolution," for, though great political, economic, and social changes had been taking place during these two decades, they do not in themselves comprehend or even account for the kind of change which constituted the Victorian Revolution. Britain had changed in less than a generation from a nation characterized by violent discontent and appalling distress into a nation which, with specific exceptions, was generally prosperous and contented. It had changed from a narrow oligarchy into a democracy, with secret, universal manhood suffrage. Political *laissez-faire* had given place to the acceptance of political responsibility for a benevolent intervention into almost every department of the national life. But it is not in these that the revolution lies. It lies, rather, in the change in man's conception of himself.

The religious revival of the eighteenth century had produced, in the nineteenth, a serious, sober-minded, righteous evangelicalism which fitted perfectly the Victorian mercantilist bourgeoisie. No other age could have failed to be amused at such a doctrine as "Honesty is the best policy." Self-discipline, hard work, thrift, and a charity that was "without detriment to oneself or connexions," were virtues that had their reward. With this convenient ethic went an unquestioning acceptance of the literal truth of the Bible, of man's divinely appointed overlordship of Nature,



IN GIRTON COLLEGE

The association for promoting the higher education for women was founded in Cambridge in 1869 and Girtton College was removed to its present site in 1873. Newnham Hall changed its name and status to Newnham College in 1880, both these establishments being earlier than any of the women's colleges in Oxford. Thus another revolutionary idea, the academic training of women in universities, had become an established fact.



UNDERGROUND RAILWAY, CIRCA 1875

An essential of efficient railway operation is a track of which the gradients are not steep, and the use of tunnels to avoid hills was, therefore, a feature of railway construction from very early times. While the only means of traction was the steam locomotive, as shown in this picture of about 1875 showing a London underground railway station, "tube" travel was both evil smelling and very dirty. It was only after the development of the continuous current dynamo by Pacinotti in 1861 that the way was opened for the development of electric traction, without which the modern underground railway systems of cities such as London, Paris, New York and Moscow would not have been possible.

and of Britain's commercial and imperial supremacy. It was all very simple and very satisfactory—until Darwin's publication in 1859 of *The Origin of Species*, and of Huxley's *Man's Place in the Universe* in 1863. Other works in chemistry, physics, biology, bacteriology, geology, archaeology, and other developing fields of scientific investigation added to the shock. In half a century scientific exploration had contributed more to human knowledge than had been contributed in two thousand years.

Acceptance of Darwin's theory of natural selection, implying that man was but a part of a general evolutionary process, fitted ill with his conception of himself as the created lord of Nature. The geological discoveries were revealing through the examination of the strata of the earth's crust a story of the formation of the earth which went back far beyond the accepted date of the Creation. These discoveries, too, were reinforcing Darwin's doctrine that man

was, in company with all other living organisms, "the co-descendant with other mammals of a common progenitor." That there would be an outcry against such a theory Darwin himself recognized, but he was voicing the general attitude of the scientists when he wrote, in the final paragraph of his *The Descent of Man*: "We are not here concerned with hopes or fears, only with the truth as far as our reason permits us to discover it; and I have given the evidence to the best of my ability." Darwin added a final piece of evidence: "We must, however, acknowledge, as it seems to me, that man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system—with all these exalted powers—man still bears in his bodily frame the

indelible stamp of his lowly origin." Some twelve years had gone since the publication of Darwin's earlier book, and the challenge to man's dignity had already provoked energetic controversy. At the very least men were being stirred into thinking about those conventional beliefs which they had become accustomed to accept without criticism or question.

Other scientific explorations were having a more directly practical effect. The physicists were changing engineering into a science, and the *ad hoc* inventions of the "trial and error" processes of untrained genius were being replaced by the products of laboratory research. Scientific investigation had made possible telegraphy and telephony, and by 1866 had connected the two shores of the Atlantic by submarine cable. Pasteur's and Lister's work in bacteriology were revolutionizing the treatment of diseases and surgery, and were transforming a surgical operation from being virtually a sentence of death into a new hope of life.

One inevitable result of so rapid a scientific development, reinforced by so much practical evidence of the truth and applicability of its theories, was to exaggerate the importance of "reason," and to lead men to look for a scientific explanation of every observable occurrence. The increased attention given to general and technical education from this time is in part a reflection of this new attitude. Gradually a new independence of thought, a tendency to question the voice of authority, began to emerge. Scientific principles were applied to social problems and to the understanding of the ever-changing nature of man's social

relations. It had yet to be learned that Science does not explain anything, and that "Natural Laws" are statements of what is observed to occur and not statements of why such occurrences take place. The Law of Gravity does not explain why masses tend to move towards each other with a calculable and consistent force; it simply says that they do. It had to be learned, therefore, that there was no necessary conflict between "Science" and "Religion," and that though many accepted beliefs had to be shed or changed, there was a field for religious and philosophical speculation outside the frontier of science.

What is the significance of this to the worker, or to the typical industrial family carrying out its daily routine with no thought for the controversies which the scientists had aroused? The importance is that the worker gained a new status in society. As the Divine Right of Monarchy disappeared in the seventeenth century, so the Divine Right of the successful to all that could be gained in the competitive scramble was shaken in the nineteenth. The top-hatted and bearded Victorian, who looks from the pages of the albums with such sober dignity, began to look rather ridiculous when considered as one of the world's mammals. There was much satirical fun-poking in the 'eighties, and little self-righteous dignity left in the "Naughty 'Nineties." Man was busy discovering the greater dignity of social service, and, with the dawning conviction that society as a whole must share the responsibility for the least of its members, the mantle of Divine Right had to be extended to cover the shoulders of humanity.

Test Yourself

1. In what ways did the liberalism of Gladstone differ from that of Palmerston?
2. Describe briefly the development of the Conservative Party in Britain.
3. Outline the political Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884-5. (The Franchise Act of 1884 and the Redistribution Act of 1885.)

Answers will be found at the end of the book.



INSIDE AN IRISH COTTAGE

This picture represents the interior of an Irish cottage towards the middle of the nineteenth century. It shows a hand-loom weaver and a spinner at work in a rudely built home in which the pigs and poultry, the stock-in-trade of the Irish countryside, share the living accommodation indiscriminately with their owners. The picture may be overdrawn, but it is a fair commentary on life in Ireland at a time when the Irish people were blaming English influence for their poverty and for the continuance of conditions which had improved only slightly since the Middle Ages. Life for the peasant was little better than a constant struggle to obtain the bare essentials of existence.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LAMENT OF EIRE

IT has been difficult to avoid frequent reference to Ireland since its story was left, in Chapter XVII, at the point where the Irish Famine of 1845 was spreading ruin and starvation through the country, for since that time the "Irish Question" had become increasingly a disturbing factor in British politics. Indirectly it had split the Conservative party when the plight of the Irish had persuaded Peel to admit foreign corn; ministries were defeated on the question; general elections were fought on it; Disraeli's imperialism adopted it; and Gladstone's liberalism was increasingly concerned with it. But to view the plight of the Irish people merely from the standpoint of English politics, or to tell their story in scattered oddments inserted at convenient points in a general British history, is not to tell their story at all.

The most important development in Irish history in the nineteenth century was the formation of a society known as Young Ireland. After Daniel O'Connell had gained for the Irish Roman Catholics the right to sit in the British parliament, he had begun to agitate for the repeal of the Anglo-Irish Union Act; that is, he had begun to agitate for the complete independence of the Irish nation. The first step towards this, however, had to come from the Irish people themselves; they had to be roused from their exhaustion and despair and inspired with a new spirit of nationalist fervour and national self-respect. To awaken in the Irish people this re-energizing fervour was the work of Young Ireland, a group of essayists and poets, whose writings revived the forgotten past, wept for its passing, and looked for the birth of a new Ireland out of the travail of the present.

Denis MacCarthy, a barrister who was one of the main contributors to *The Nation*, the journal of Young Ireland, lamented that:

All hath crumbled
But grief alone!

Having praised the glories of the past, he wrote:

These have vanished,
And what remains?
Life's budding garlands
Have turned to chains—
Its beams and rains
Feed but docks and thistles,
And sorrow whistles
O'er desert plains!

In a poem which few Irish have forgotten, James Clarence Mangan ennobled the sacrifice which would be necessary to rescue "Dark Rosaleen" from her sighs and weeping.

I could scale the blue air,
I could plough the high hills,
Oh, I could kneel all night in prayer,
To heal your many ills!
And one . . . beamy smile from you
Would float the light between
My toils and me, my own, my true,
My dark Rosaleen!
My dark Rosaleen!
Would give me life and soul anew,
A second life, a soul anew,
My dark Rosaleen!

That the task would be hard and bloody
Young Ireland made no attempt to hide.

O! the Erne shall run red
With redundancy of blood,
The earth shall rock beneath our tread,
And flames wrap hill and wood,
And gun-peal, and slogan cry,
Wake many a glen serene,
Ere you shall fade, ere you can die,
My dark Rosaleen!

But that a new Ireland would rise out of the ashes and bloodshed they were equally sure. Fanny Parnell (Frances Isabelle Parnell), sister of Charles Stewart Parnell, sang of the victory "After Death."

Shall mine eyes behold the glory, O my
country? Shall mine eyes behold the
glory?

Or shall the darkness close around them, ere
the sun-blaze break at last upon thy
story?

When the nations ope for thee their queenly
circle, as a sweet new sister hail thee,
Shall these lips be sealed in callous death and
silence,
that have known but to bewail thee?

It is in such poems that lie the true history of Ireland and its understanding, rather than in the unwilling legislation wrung from the British parliament. But though poetic fervour could express and spread a new and inspired patriotism, as the Mazzini-inspired Risorgimento had in Italy, the gaining of national independence demanded more practical measures. The active resistance to English rule began with the work of the Fenians, a revolutionary brotherhood formed to establish the Irish Republic.

The Fenian Brotherhood

The famine of 1846-8 had driven many Irish from the country. Some had gone to European countries, others to Australia, to New Zealand, or to South Africa; most had gone to America, where they prospered and grew in numbers until there were more Irish "across the water" than at home. But their hearts were still "In Derry Vale, beside the singing river," and their love for Ireland was the measure of their hatred of England. In 1848, the "Year of Revolutions" in Europe, there was a futile rising in Ireland, and after its suppression one of its leaders, John O'Mahony, fled to America, where in 1858 he founded the Fenian Brotherhood, or "Clan-na-Gael." Just as the Young Ireland movement recalled the epic vigour of ancient Ireland, so the name "Fenians" recalled the legendary grandeur of the deeds of Finn MacColl (Finn MacCumhaill), a hero of Ireland's early story. The members of the brotherhood had to swear allegiance to "the Irish Republic," to fight for it when called upon, and to obey implicitly the commands of their leaders. An active branch was formed in Paris under James Stephens, another of "the men of 1848"; in Ireland the Phoenix National and Literary Society, pledged to armed resistance for "the Republic," was founded by Jeremiah Donovan and was absorbed into the Fenian movement. Soon active emissaries of the brotherhood were to be found in the colonies, in South America, and in Great Britain itself, par-

ticularly in the western ports and the larger industrial towns.

Many Americans encouraged, very few discouraged, the movement, particularly after the American Civil War (1861-5) in which many American-Irish took part. A movement for national independence would always find support in America; English policy during the war had pleased neither the Federal nor the Confederate States; other Americans disliked the idea of a British Canada. Consequently the Fenians in America had both help and protection. A Fenian Convention was held at Chicago in 1863, and in the same year a violently revolutionary journal, the *Irish People*, was founded in Ireland by Stephens, calling upon the Irish to rebel, and appealing to the American-Irish who had fought in the Civil War in America to return to Ireland to help the rebellion with their military experience. In 1865 thousands did so.

The British Government, fully aware of all that was happening, decided that it was time to take action. The *Irish People* was suppressed, the more prominent Fenians were imprisoned, a number of premature risings were suppressed, and a number of American-Irish officers who landed at Cork were met, not as they had expected by an Irish army, but by the police. Equally disastrous was a Fenian attack on Canada, an attack which America did nothing to prevent, but which was defeated by a battalion of Canadian volunteers, in 1866.

Fenian Outrages

Many English were not particularly disturbed so long as the trouble was confined to Ireland, but in 1867, when a new rebellion was planned, Fenian "outrages" broke out in England. The scheme was to capture Chester castle and to seize the arms stored there, control the railway to Holyhead, seize the shipping there, and thus to keep England occupied long enough to permit an attack on Dublin to be made before relief could arrive. The British Government had again been informed; the leaders were arrested, and the rebellion of 1867 was reduced to a few easily suppressed risings in the south and west of Ireland. On 11 September, Colonel Thomas J. Kelly, the deputy



RESCUE OF FENIAN LEADERS

In September, 1867, two Irish prisoners who had taken part in an attempt at insurrection but had been denounced by an informer were being conveyed in a prison van through the streets of Manchester. The van was attacked by Fenian supporters and the two prisoners rescued. In the course of the scuffle an English police-sergeant was shot dead. This incident attained a notoriety out of all proportion to its importance, and was one of the factors which led to the return to power of Gladstone at the head of a Liberal government in 1868 with the avowed intention of relieving the grievances of the Irish.

central organizer of the Irish Republic, and Captain Deasy were arrested in Manchester. The police van which was carrying them from court to prison was attacked by Fenians armed with revolvers. In the struggle, or, as is claimed, by a shot intended to break the lock of the van, a policeman was killed. Kelly and Deasy escaped to America, and Kelly was given a post in the New York custom-house. Three of the five men responsible were hanged; Irish nationalists have ever since remem-

bered them as "the Manchester Martyrs."

It was in this same "Fenian Winter" of 1867 that a final outrage occurred in England. A Fenian named Richard Burke, employed to buy arms, was imprisoned at Clerkenwell in London. While he was awaiting trial part of the prison wall was blown down by gunpowder. Over a hundred people were wounded and twelve were killed by the explosion, and Michael Barrett, who was judged responsible, was hanged. The incident had an exaggerated

effect on the members who attended a great Fenian convention in Philadelphia, for it suggested that the movement was far stronger than it was. A second invasion of Canada was planned, but the "Inspector-General of the Irish Republican Army" was the famous English spy, Thomas Miller Beach, better known as Henri Le Caron, through whose agency and the loyalty of the Canadians the invasion proved an even greater fiasco than the earlier one.

Force Fails in its Object

Little more was heard of the Fenians. The attempt to establish an independent Irish republic by force had failed in its main object. But it had strengthened enormously the new-born spirit of Irish nationalism, which could no longer be satisfied with any concessions which the British Government might make, short of complete independence. Because the reader must now be taken back to Westminster, where Gladstone was busy struggling sympathetically to remove Irish "grievances," it is necessary to recall that the Irish had ceased to think in terms of gifts or grievances.

O, I long, I am pining, again to behold
The land that belongs to the brave Gael of
old;
Far dearer to my heart than a gift of gems or
gold

Are the fair Hills of Eire, O!

(MANGAN)

From the Upas or "Poison" anchar tree the natives of Java used to extract the sap to envenom their arrows, and the fictitious belief had been spread that nothing could live near its poison-spreading branches. Gladstone likened the Irish trouble to a Upas tree with three poisonous branches which were spreading disaffection between the English and Irish peoples. The three classes of grievance symbolized by the Upas branches were: (i) the position of the Anglican Church in Ireland; (ii) the relation between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and (iii) the need for a system of higher education which would be available to Irish Roman Catholics. Gladstone, when he became Premier in 1868, determined that these three sources of disaffection should be removed.

It was in the previous winter, with

Disraeli at the helm, that the Fenian disturbances had reached their climax, and Commissions were appointed to investigate the position of the Anglican Church in Ireland, and the relation between landlords and tenants. Gladstone, from the opposition benches, declared that the Anglican Church in Ireland ought to be disestablished and in March, 1868, gave notice to move resolutions to this effect. There was clear support for the proposals in the Commons, but not in the House of Lords, and it was decided to put the question to the country. The general election of 1868 was the first to include the votes of the artisans, and, as we have already seen, it returned Gladstone and the Liberals to power. To Gladstone the result of the election meant also that the country was behind him in his determination to remove the grievances which were, he believed, responsible for the Irish hostility. "My mission," he said, "is to pacify Ireland."

Problems of Disestablishment

Protestantism had entered Ireland neither as a movement of religious or ecclesiastical reform, nor as a nationalist movement against papal intrusion, nor as a democratic movement against authority, episcopalian or monarchic. It had entered as the religion of conquering invaders, who settled on the most fertile regions of the land, and who claimed for their religion and for themselves every conceivable privilege. The Protestant Plantations, the Penal Laws, the transference of the land to Protestant landlords, the long exclusion of Roman Catholics from political and civil rights, had all contributed to associate Protestantism, in the Irish mind, with the English rule. In 1868 it is probable that the Protestants in Ireland numbered less than an eighth of the population. Sydney Smith once wrote of the neat little parish churches, whose tinkling bells summoned only the verger and the parson to the service, while the Irish worshipped God in their own way, sometimes in the open fields, "pelted by the rains of Heaven." That a Church of a minority should be enjoying the privileges of "establishment" and endowment was indefensible, and Gladstone introduced in March, 1869, a Bill which proposed both the disestablishment and partial disendow-



AN EVICTION OF 1870

The culmination of the struggle between landlords and peasants in Ireland was the virtual abolition of landlordism as a profitable occupation by a series of Acts of Parliament. Before that happened, however, there were innumerable open breaches between landlord and tenant, starting from the formation in 1850 of an association which demanded the three F's: Fair Rent, Free Sale, Fixity of Tenure. Landlords found it impossible to evict their tenants without recourse to force, as this picture of 1870 vividly demonstrates. The landlord's agents have holed the wall to remove the tenants and their belongings, while the military stand by to suppress any resistance to the enforcement of the law.

ment of the Anglican Church in Ireland.

The proposed disestablishment of the Church meant that its connexion with the English Church and the State would cease, the twelve Irish bishops would no longer be represented in the House of Lords, and ecclesiastical courts and corporations were to be abolished. Thereafter the Protestant Church in Ireland would become a Free Church with the same standing as that of other Irish Churches.

The more controversial part of the Bill was that proposing partial disendowment. By means of bequests, confiscations, and other combinations of good fortune and privileged opportunism, the Established Church in Ireland had accumulated wealth which produced an annual income of well over £600,000. Its property was worth about £16,000,000. This was to become the

property of the State, and, after provision had been made for those who had a life interest in this property, for the maintenance of the clergy and for the compensation of clergy whose services would no longer be required, the residue, which was about £9,000,000, was to be devoted to the relief of Irish distress. The only serious opposition came from the House of Lords, but partly through the appeals of the Queen, and partly through the wisdom of Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury since the previous autumn, it received the royal assent in July, 1869. Amongst the interesting comments made on the Bill during its stormy passage through the Lords, several expressed the view that, while the measure would anger the Protestants, it would be regarded by the Roman Catholic Irish merely as a first step towards the complete



BURNING THE DUKE OF LEINSTER'S LEASE

Intense feeling against the landlords was always a feature of Irish unrest. The Land League was founded in 1879 following the failure of Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 to redress the grievance of the Irish peasants. It became a movement of increasing strength, pledged to secession and agrarian reform under the leadership of Parnell, leader of the Irish Party at Westminster. The Land League dominated the country and boycotted landowners, farmers and shopkeepers who refused to follow its policy. The incident illustrated, which took place in the market place of Kildare, was one of thousands of deliberate acts of provocation carried out by members of the League in the course of the campaign against the landlords.

severance of their country from England. It is probable that relatively few of the Irish had worried much about the position of the Anglican Church. The national idealists were dreaming of a free and independent Irish nation; those concerned with more immediate practical problems were disturbed mainly by the agrarian problem, the second branch of the Upas tree.

Few Englishmen understood that the relation between landlord and occupier in Ireland was traditionally altogether different from that in England. English Protestant landlords, many of whom, such as Palmerston, did not live in Ireland, accepted without question that the privileges

which landlords enjoyed in England should hold good for Irish landlords. They regarded themselves as owners of "their" land, owners of all buildings erected on the land, and entitled to do what they liked with their own. This conception, reasonable enough from the English standpoint, was unintelligible to the Irish, who were accustomed to pay rent, or a part of their produce, to their lords for the land only. The cottages which they or their ancestors had built on the land, the farm buildings they constructed and maintained, belonged to the tenant, or it would have been thought to be so had the question of ownership ever arisen in Ireland. Consequently, when English landlords or their agents, regarding

their Irish lands as sources of revenue, raised the rents of those farms which tenants had improved, or of cottages which were superior to others, the Irish tenant could not understand this any more than the English landlord could understand the Irish resentment.

These different points of view became serious when English landlords evicted from their farms those tenants who could not pay or who had not paid the raised rents. Most of the Irish were entirely dependent on what they could produce for themselves and for their families from a plot of land, for there was little hired labour and in most areas negligible industrial opportunity. Consequently, to avoid almost inevitable starvation, there were always available new tenants willing to promise to pay the higher rents, hoping at least for a respite before they were troubled again. In general, to evict an Irish tenant was like the uprooting of a tree. For generations the land had sustained it; some of its fruit had gone to a chieftain or lord; ownership, rental, income, and such concepts, were foreign to the situation; and uprootal usually meant the end. The chieftain had been content with a share of the fruit, and would have thought of the soil and the tenants as inseparable; the English in the seventeenth century substituted a landlord for the chieftain, and the principles of English land law for the traditional Irish system.

Land Act of 1870

The first glimpse of this situation was revealed to the English at the time of the famine by the Report of the Devon Commission, and the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 was the first attempt to deal with it. The Act simplified the sale and purchase of land, and in a few years some thousands of new proprietors, mostly Irish, had replaced the old owners. In most cases, however, they were men who had bought land for profit-making purposes, who applied the English system, and who evicted tenants in arrears as readily as the previous landlords.

Gladstone prepared to tackle the Irish land problem with his characteristic thoroughness and open-mindedness. Whole days were spent for a considerable period

in reading everything he could find that had been written on it, and in correspondence or discussion with Irish leaders. The Land Act of 1870 was the fruit of his labours. Tenants evicted from their holdings were given the right to claim compensation for disturbance, and for any "unexhausted improvements" they had made during tenancy; the recognition of the "Ulster custom of tenant-right" protected tenants from eviction so long as they continued to pay the rent demanded, and, on the suggestion of John Bright, help was given to tenants to buy their holdings. Unfortunately, nothing in the Act prevented landlords from raising rents beyond the capacity of tenants to pay them, or from enforcing "agreements" on prospective tenants such as to render much of the Act inoperative, and the right of tenants to purchase remained for a long time little more than a theoretical possibility.

The "Ribbon" Society

Good in intention, the Land Act did little to improve the actual conditions of Irish tenants, and, of course, nothing to satisfy the growing spirit of Irish nationalism. Continued nationalist agitation was, from the English viewpoint, mere lawlessness, and Lord Salisbury expressed the English attitude when he said that the Irish must be made to fear the law before they could be induced to like it. Consequently, in the same year that the Land Act was passed, a "Peace Preservation Act" gave increased authority to the Executive in Ireland to prevent or to punish disorder. The result was that resistance was stiffened and organized. The "Ribbon" Society, founded in the previous century and named after its badge of green ribbon, had concentrated on agrarian outrage, and in 1871 Lord Hartington, the new Chief Secretary, reported that Ribbon Law was supreme in some districts, wherein such a state of terrorism prevailed that "no landlord dare exercise the commonest rights of property." The Westmeath Act of 1871 declared the Ribbon Society illegal and increased the repressive measures, but failed to crush Irish resistance.

Gladstone's attempt to apply his axe to the third branch of the Upas tree had little other effect than that of increasing the

already significant unpopularity of his administration. The Irish University Bill of 1873 was an attempt to provide adequate university-education for Irish Roman Catholics. The Bill proposed the amalgamation of the existing Protestant Colleges and the Catholic University College into a single University, in which, to ensure its non-sectarian quality, there should not be Faculties of Theology, Moral Philosophy, or Modern History. The scheme pleased no one. The Protestants objected to the secularization of their University Colleges and to the admission of Roman Catholics, and Roman Catholics have never approved of a mixed system of education. The Bill was defeated by 287 votes to 284.

The Home Rule League

Meanwhile, in 1870, Isaac Butt, an Irish lawyer who had joined the Nationalists on the passing of the Act disestablishing the Irish Church, opened the "Home Rule" campaign at a meeting in Dublin. The "Home Government Association of Ireland" was founded, with the object of establishing an Irish parliament, which was to be responsible for all legislation affecting the internal affairs of Ireland and for the control of Irish resources and taxation. The parliament was to include the British Sovereign, and all matters relating to imperial or foreign affairs were to be left to the Imperial Parliament. Thus the new movement was not republican, it wished for "no disturbance of the principles of the constitution," it disapproved of violence, and hoped to achieve its objective through political means. In 1871 Butt was returned to Parliament, in which he had earlier sat for many years, as the representative for Limerick, and as the leader of the Home Rule party. In 1873 the Home Government Association became the "Home Rule League," and its members were occupied in preparing candidates and in gaining supporters for the programme in the forthcoming General Election. As we have earlier observed, the elections of 1874 returned a majority of Conservatives to Westminster; they returned also fifty-nine "Home-Rulers."

To have founded the "Home Rule" party was practically the only contribution Butt made to the movement. His hatred

of violence, his legal training, and his respect for the constitution gave his leadership a rather half-hearted appearance. He died in 1879, and the chairmanship of the Irish party in Parliament passed first to William Shaw and, in 1880, to Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish Protestant landowner who had been educated in England. Parnell did not believe that Irish independence would ever be gained by means of armed rebellion; he advocated the destruction of the English landlords as the first step to the undermining of English authority, and the skilful use of a compact body of Irish members in the House of Commons to obstruct or to sway parliamentary procedure. To continue the struggle against the landlords, a Land League had been recently formed by Michael Davitt, and, after accepting the presidency of it, Parnell went to America to collect funds. He returned with two hundred thousand dollars in 1880. Thus, as leader of the Irish party at Westminster, Parnell had a formidable organization behind him. His ultimate object he made quite clear; while speaking in America he had said: "None of us, whether we live in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Boycott

A Bill to compensate tenants evicted even for the non-payment of rent failed to pass the House of Lords, not unreasonably from their point of view, and Parnell used the opportunity to propose a new method of fighting the landlords. Speaking at Ennis in the autumn of 1880, he said that any man who took possession of a farm from which a tenant had been evicted should be isolated like "a leper of old." The first victim of a policy which was soon to spread terror throughout the country was Captain Boycott, an agent who refused to receive rents fixed by the tenants of Lord Erne's estates in Mayo. Known henceforward as "boycotting," the policy rapidly developed into a formidable tyranny. The victim could neither buy nor sell, nor obtain service; his friends shunned him lest they, too, should suffer, and "would pass him by on the other side,



"BOYCOTTING" A TRADESMAN

The word "boycott" passed into the English language when a certain Captain Boycott, an agent of Lord Erne's estates in Mayo, refused to accept rents fixed by the tenants in 1880. It arose from Parnell's having suggested that opponents of his agrarian reform policy should be "isolated like a leper of old." What at first seemed an unimportant gesture became an intolerable tyranny, especially when it was extended to all, including tradesmen who were known to be opposed to Parnell's policy. The victims were unable to make a living or to receive service; sometimes no one could be found even to dig a grave.

making the sign of the cross." Even medicine was denied him and his family, and "sometimes no one could be found to dig his grave."

Obviously a government must either govern or abandon the pretence, and Gladstone attempted in 1881 to re-enforce law-abiding order in Ireland, while he made new concessions to the tenants. A Coercion Act made legal the arrest of suspected persons and their detention in prison to await an indefinitely postponed trial. Later in the year a new Land Act secured the tenants from eviction for any cause other than non-payment of rent, and, by establishing Land Commissions which were to fix fair rents, prevented landlords from raising rents in order to secure an eviction. The Act also provided opportunities for the tenant to buy his holding or to obtain it on leasehold.

The Nationalists, fearing that concessions might jeopardize the cause of independence, called a convention at which it was resolved to continue the struggle until the land had been unconditionally freed for the people. When Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly, who had supported these resolutions, were imprisoned in Kilmainham Gaol under the Coercion Act, the Land League forbade tenants to pay any rent at all, and agrarian outrages increased in violence. Particularly horrifying were the mutilations of cattle. Alarmed at the effect of his coercive measures, Gladstone reversed his policy, released Parnell and the others, and, when Lord Cowper and W. E. Forster resigned from the Lord Lieutenantship and Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, replaced them with the more conciliatory Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish. The Irish replied by murdering



IRISH EMIGRANTS, 1883

The famine of 1846 and 1847 drove many Irishmen from their country as emigrants chiefly to various parts of Europe, to the British Dominions and to the United States. Although the three decades which followed the great famine were more prosperous for the Irish people, emigration especially to the New World continued. The truth was that the poor soil of most of Ireland could not support a rapidly growing population, except at the lowest possible standard of living, in the absence of a flourishing industrial economy such as enabled England to multiply its population during the nineteenth century. In the New World the Irish prospered and grew in numbers until, through natural increase and the continuing flow of immigrants, there were more Irish "across the water" than at home. The picture here reproduced appeared in the Illustrated London News on 21 July, 1883, and depicts the scene at Clifden, County Galway, at the departure of Irish emigrants for America. Some of the bitterness against England carried oversea by people forced to leave their homes persists even to the present time among their descendants.

Lord Cavendish and the Permanent Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke, in Phoenix Park. Five men were hanged and others imprisoned for complicity in the crime on information laid by one of the conspirators named Carey, who, while attempting to escape to South Africa, was murdered on board ship.

The replacement of the Land League by the Irish National League in 1882 was a clear indication that independence was the main objective of the Irish agitation. The new league issued its own decrees and

established courts which fined or boycotted those declared guilty of disobeying them. The campaign of terror was carried into England itself by the "dynamiters," but their time-bombs had little other effect than that of embittering the struggle and of bringing about more coercive measures.

Gladstone's ministry was defeated in 1885, but the recent enfranchisement of the labouring class necessitated the postponement of a General Election until the new registers were completed, and Salisbury formed a temporary "stop-gap" ministry,

the "Government of Caretakers." Anticipating the General Election, the Conservatives took considerable pains to gain the support of Parnell's Irish Party. By the Ashbourne Act, £5,000,000 was lent to the Irish farmers at 4 per cent on the security of their land, repayable over a period of forty-nine years, to help them to buy their land. Lord Carnarvon, the new Lord Lieutenant, had an interview with Parnell, and, though there are conflicting reports of the meeting, it was followed by the issue of a manifesto in which Parnell advised his supporters to vote against the Liberals. The elections returned 335 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, and 86 Home-Rulers, who, therefore, held the balance of parties in the House; without their support Gladstone's Liberal ministry could not count on a majority.

Gladstone's own Liberal principles were opposed to a situation in which it was becoming increasingly clear that English rule was being forced on an unwilling nation, and he had no sympathy with the view of the imperialists that the British Empire must be maintained as a unity at all costs. He had opposed the movement for Irish independence in the belief that the movement would die when sympathetic legislation had removed the grievances which, he believed, had caused the movement. This view had proved to be wrong. The dependence of his ministry on the support of the Parnellites, combined with his own developing conviction that some measure of Irish independence could no longer be postponed, persuaded Gladstone to introduce an Irish Home Rule Bill in April, 1886.

Collapse of Liberal Party

If any Irish believed that their dream of an independent national home was soon to be realized they were quickly to be disappointed. Before Gladstone, now seventy-seven years of age, could introduce the Bill, the Liberal party was severed. At one extreme the Whig section under Hartington withdrew its support; at the other, the Radical section led by Joseph Chamberlain deserted. Gladstone, assisted by the brilliant Radical, John Morley, who had recently entered Parliament and had been appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant, proposed that Ireland should have an independent parliament, responsible for all legislation which did not affect the Crown, the defence of Britain, war or peace, trade, and such general areas of British responsibility. At the same time the landlords were to be bought out at a cost of about £5 million, and were to be replaced by a peasant proprietary. The Bill was rejected at its second reading, and Gladstone resigned. For the second time in seven months the country had to listen to the vehement and passionate views about Ireland expressed by the politicians at a General Election. The split of the Liberals into Liberal Unionists and Liberal Home-Rulers virtually destroyed the party, and in the new Parliament Lord Salisbury became Premier with a substantial majority of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists to support him.

Balfour Restores Order

Salisbury surprised everyone by appointing his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, to the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland. Balfour had been regarded as an aristocratic dilettante, whose political incursions were merely languorous diversions from his more serious philosophic and academic interests. Both those who were amused at and those who were contemptuous of what seemed an example of unqualified nepotism were soon to be disillusioned. Balfour's imperturbable ease and polished culture obscured an inflexible will which neither criticism nor sentiment could deflect. What Ireland needed, he believed, was a long period of consistently resolute rule, which should re-introduce respect for law and disciplined orderliness, destroying ruthlessly the spirit of anarchy which Liberal sentiment described as nationalism. He believed further that justifiable remedial legislation and the economic development of Ireland would divert the interests of the Irish people from revolutionary acts which he was determined to show were self-destructive. He was wrong, as all the European politicians who had despised national sentiment earlier in the century had been wrong; but he did succeed in restoring order and in promoting greater economic security.

Armed with a new Crimes Act (the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1887),



THE BATTLE OF DUBLIN

This photograph was taken during the pitched battle for the Dublin law courts during the Easter rising of 1916. Three years later the Republic of Ireland was proclaimed. The treaty which acknowledged the Irish Free State as a British Dominion was signed in December, 1921, and a provisional parliament was in existence by January, 1922. In spite of this Ireland was again torn by civil war, a tragedy arising chiefly from the refusal of the extreme nationalists to accept the partition of Ireland. The revolt was not crushed until July, after much loss of life and damage to property.

which made permanent the Lord Lieutenant's authority to declare associations to be "unlawful" and districts to be "disturbed," and which gave magistrates greater authority in the repression of disorders, Balfour set to work. For nearly a year the Irish had been putting into practice an ingenious revolutionary device known as the Plan of Campaign, for which William O'Brien and John Dillon were responsible. By this scheme tenants were to decide for themselves what was a "fair" rental for their holdings, and, if such rental were refused, they were to pay it not to the landlords but into a central fund or "war chest" for the financing of resistance to evictions.

During the six years of Salisbury's Government, Balfour succeeded in defeating the plan of campaign and in reducing violent lawlessness almost to vanishing point. Eighteen counties were declared "disturbed," the National League was declared "an unlawful association," and the most prominent nationalists were imprisoned.

Balfour was helped by a revulsion of feeling against Parnell. On the day appointed for the second reading of the Crimes Act (18 April, 1887), *The Times* published a letter, ostensibly written by Parnell, in which he had privately expressed his regret that political circumstances had forced him publicly to condemn the Phoenix Park

murders. A long enquiry by a parliamentary commission established that the letter was a forgery, the work of an Irish journalist named Pigott, who, after confessing his crime, fled to Madrid, where he committed suicide. Though *The Times* apologized for the publication of the letter, the harm was done. The Commission found that Parnell, though he had not written the letter, had with his colleagues "incited to the intimidation that produces crime and had promoted the defence of agrarian crime." The Report was published in February, 1890; before the end of the year Parnell was in further disgrace. Captain O'Shea cited Parnell as co-respondent in divorce proceedings and Parnell offered no defence. Though he insisted that the matter was a personal one, this was a vain hope; for Parnell had offended not only the Irish Roman Catholics, but, in general, the Victorian conscience. Gladstone publicly expressed the view that for Parnell to continue as leader of the Irish party would be disastrous to the cause of Ireland. Many of the more influential members of the Irish party urged Parnell to resign, and, when he refused to do so, offered the leadership to Justin McCarthy. A minority remained loyal to Parnell, thereby creating a schism in the party which did not end with Parnell's death, one year later. By this time Balfour's work was accomplished, and Irish independence seemed a lost cause.

The End of Liberalism

In 1892 Salisbury dissolved Parliament, and the elections returned 315 Unionists (Conservative and Liberal), 269 Liberal Home-Rulers, and 81 Irish Home-Rulers, who included nine "Parnellites," and five Labour members. Gladstone, now eighty-three and anxious for a period of rest, accepted the Premiership in order to make a further attempt to give Ireland national independence. But a majority of forty was too small to be regarded as expressing the country's view on the Irish question, especially as it depended on the Irish members. Though Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill passed through the Commons, it was rejected in the House of Lords by an enormous majority, and Gladstone resigned in 1894. His death, four years later, on 19 May, 1898, marked the

virtual end of liberalism as he had conceived it. Lord Rosebery carried on the Government after Gladstone's resignation until 1895, when it was defeated. For the third time Salisbury became Prime Minister, this time over a "Unionist" ministry in which Conservatives and Liberal Unionists merged. The acceptance of the Colonial Office by Joseph Chamberlain marked not only the welding of old differences into a newly evolving Conservative party, anxious to embark on radical social reforms at home. It marked, too, the acceptance of British Imperialism as a dominating theme in British politics. Once again Irish nationalism seemed only to have destroyed the party which had come to support it.

Improving Economy

It is a relief to turn from this unending nationalist struggle to glance for a moment at the improving conditions in Irish economy. During the nineteenth century arable land was increasingly turned over to pasturage, and farming tended to concentrate more on stock-raising and dairying. In the second half of the century the number of cattle increased from about three million to four and a half; the number of sheep was nearly doubled; the number of pigs, though more variable, also increased considerably. By an Act of 1899 there was established a "Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction in Ireland," an organization which began to revolutionize Ireland's economic system. The new department worked in close relation to the new county councils, to which the elective system adopted in England ten years earlier was applied in 1898. Assisted by a Council of Agriculture, an Agricultural Board, and a Board of Technical Instruction, financed by an annual grant of about £180,000, contributions from local authorities and from the voluntary associations founded by Sir Horace Plunkett, the department began to improve methods of agriculture, cattle-breeding, and the fisheries. Mainly administrative and instructional, it defined its aim as that of placing within the reach of a large number of young men and women the means of obtaining in Ireland a good technical knowledge of all subjects relating to agriculture.

With this end in view teachers were trained, travelling lecturers gave demonstrations, courses were organized for the training of the instructors, and scholarships were founded. Specialized study and opportunities for research were provided by the Faculty of Agriculture at the Royal College of Science, Dublin; more general courses were provided at the Albert Agricultural College at Glasnevin and at the Munster Institute at Cork. Special courses were provided for girls in butter-making, poultry-keeping, calf-rearing, gardening, and domestic science. Research was undertaken in the more profitable methods of horse- and cattle-breeding, swine-breeding, fruit-growing, and the development of pasturage.

Valuable help was given by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, which had been founded in 1894, and to which the department made an annual grant. The society organized groups of farmers to co-operate for such purposes as the purchase of seeds, equipment, implements and the like, to establish creameries, or to develop locally such specialized pursuits as bee-keeping.

The attempt to improve the economic conditions of Ireland was not limited to agriculture. Acts of Parliament and loans led to improvements in the coastal and deep-sea fishing, to the construction and improvement of harbours and piers, and to the provision and repair of fishing-vessels. As yet, however, only the first signs of improvement in some of the Irish industries which English competition had ruined were visible. As late as 1910 only 3,500

hands were engaged in the woollen industry, which once had been relatively flourishing. Some indication of the generally improved economic life of Ireland is given by increase of trade at the ports. Between 1886 and 1905 the total volume of this trade was practically doubled.

By the end of the century there was little left to reform, and one Irish historian, Haverty, wrote that there was nothing left for the Conservatives to grant save university education and Home Rule. The Conservative view, however, that Ireland would settle down after such general and sympathetic reforms, together with a long period of such resolute government as would establish that security which is only possible in a law-abiding community, was false. The Unionist party had never understood the significance of Irish nationalism. The Irish poet still sang, as Mangan had sung.

O, I long, I am pining, again to behold
The land that belongs to the brave Gael of
old;

Far dearer to my heart than a gift of gems
and gold

Are the fair Hills of Eire, O!

Before the century's end, Arthur Griffith, the "Father" of Sinn Féin ("Our Selves"), was urging in his paper, *The United Irishman*, the restoration of the Irish parliament. In 1900 he was advising the Irish members to leave the House of Commons and the patriots to revive revolutionary agitation. Later he was to be the first President of the Irish Free State; but before that event the Erne yet again had to "run red with redundancy of blood."

Test Yourself

1. Discuss the significance of the type of Irish poetry of which examples are quoted in the text.
2. In 1868 Gladstone stated that his mission was to pacify Ireland. Examine critically the ways in which he attempted at that time to fulfil his mission.
3. Outline some of the more significant arguments for and against the granting of Home Rule to Ireland at the time of the controversy.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

THE DARKENING HORIZON

IN 1887 Britain celebrated with joy and thanksgiving the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign; in 1897, with imperial pageantry, a further jubilee expressed the pride of the nation in the vast achievements of the reign. There seemed much for which to be thankful. Conditions of labour and of life generally had improved beyond recognition. Real wages were higher and many things which had been luxuries a generation earlier had become common comforts. Food was more varied and more plentiful; clothing was better and cheaper; homes were better furnished and more comfortable. Railways had made annual seaside holidays practicable, and cycling was making the countryside accessible to the town worker. The worst evils of child labour and of the exploitation of the workers in general had gone as the development of a social conscience and the acceptance of political responsibilities replaced private philanthropy and political *laissez-faire*.

A more obvious and dramatic source of national pride was the world-wide expansion of the British Empire, deliberately fostered by political imperialists, genuinely felt by empire-builders such as Cecil Rhodes, and by patriotic writers such as Kipling or Elgar, in their respective media, and brought home as a reality to the man-in-the-street when princes, soldiers and administrators from distant lands gathered in London to honour the Queen-Empress.

Until 1875, too, Britain led the world as a trading and manufacturing nation. Her markets were world-wide, her shipping was on every sea, and the products of every climate could be bought in British markets. Even the great Liberal ideal of a world economy, with nations fraternally interchanging their goods to the advantage of all, seemed still capable of realization, even though some of the earlier hopes were being dashed; for the theory seemed so obviously sound, and the increase in British

prosperity seemed to provide adequate evidence of the advantages of a system of free international commerce.

Long before the jubilees, however, there were unmistakable signs that all was not well with Britain, and before the end of the century the movement had started which was to rush with increasing momentum to the internecine tragedy of the twentieth century—a world at war. In earlier chapters the mercantilist theory of trade and the international competition implied in the doctrine have been discussed. We have seen also that industrial areas, whether town or nation, tended to grow wealthy, while rural districts, whether countryside or oversea settlement, which had developed only to the extent of being able to supply food and raw materials, remained comparatively poor. Just as a merchant or industrial capitalist assumes the possibility of accumulating wealth in the form of profits, so a nation which sells abroad its manufactured goods or its service grows wealthy. So Britain had grown wealthy, particularly as she had had no serious rival in the world's markets since the industrial revolution had made her the first national industrial specialist.

The enjoyment of a virtual monopoly had made comparatively easy the development of the ideal of a brotherhood of nations, the adoption of a policy of free trade, and the policy of "splendid isolation" from entanglements with international rivalries. The situation looked very different, however, to other nations with natural resources of their own and with possibilities of similar industrial development. During the first half of the nineteenth century European nations had been putting their own political houses in order, with little time or thought for serious economic expansion. The United States had been busy spreading westwards, opening up new lands, and, from 1861 to 1865, solving by civil war the problems of unity and slavery. By the 1870s these problems had been for



QUEEN VICTORIA'S

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated on 22 June, 1897. The procession photographed was part of the great public celebrations in honour of the Jubilee. The occasion was made one to pay tribute to the Queen in person and as the symbol of a great nation and of an empire, which was then without parallel in the history of the world. Added zest



DIAMOND JUBILEE

was given to the rejoicings because the period of depression and industrial distress which had marked the early 'eighties had given way to a time of material prosperity, which was reflected in a rapid improvement in the conditions of the workers as well as in a very marked increase in the nation's capital resources both at home and overseas.

the most part solved, and other nations were ready to challenge the British commercial and industrial monopoly. The United States, with inexhaustible resources, were already entering on a period of rapid economic development. Germany, hammered into unity by Bismarck's "blood and iron" methods, was turning covetous eyes on the British "possessions," spheres of influence, colonies, and other imperial outposts, which provided markets for British manufacturers, and raw materials and food for the British people. So it seemed then, and so it was to seem later. Other European nations were to adopt a similar view, and the resultant scramble to occupy those distant lands which were still available was an active expression of the developing international rivalries. It was more; for each new occupation carried to some distant part of the world the germ of future war.

Industrial Growth and Agricultural Decline

It is obvious that a specialist depends on others for the satisfaction of his own general needs; it is true also, though not quite so obvious, that a group of different kinds of specialists in co-operation will all be the better off through this process of co-operative specialization. So it is with nations. Britain, by becoming an industrial specialist, had not only increased her own wealth but had increased the wealth of countries with whom she had exchanged goods. But the process had also involved the increasing dependence of Britain on distant lands. It seemed to British manufacturers that the concentration of British effort on manufactures, and the buying of foodstuffs from distant lands which were better fitted for agriculture than Britain, made an ideal balance. Consequently there was no very general alarm when British agriculture entered in 1875 upon a period of rapid decline. To the causes and effects of this decline we must now turn.

In the middle of the century the growing industrial towns of Britain still provided markets for British farmers. While the new methods of agriculture increased the yield of corn, meat, and dairy produce, prices remained high enough to compensate the farmers who had invested their capital in the land. As yet there was no serious over-

sea competition, and until 1875 the average farmer was prosperous. Then the trouble began, with a series of bad harvests culminating in "The Black Year" of 1879. The amount of wheat produced at home fell from 13,700,000 tons in 1874 to less than 6,000,000 tons in 1879. It was an opportunity for the oversea producers. The United States had begun to develop the great corn-lands of the middle west and of California. Canada, in 1869, had bought from the Hudson's Bay Company the great prairie lands with their great depths of virgin soil. India, too, and Russia had corn to sell. Thus, instead of the scarcity of home-produced corn sending up the price of wheat, the price began and continued to tumble. In twenty years the price of wheat fell from about £2 15s. a quarter to about £1 3s. Hardly less dramatic was the drop in the price of barley, oats, potatoes, pork, dairy produce, and wool.

The building of transcontinental railways with the United States and Canada quickened and cheapened the transport of their produce; more land was available than there were people to cultivate it. Faced with such facts there seemed no future in British corn production. The conditions were made still worse by the temporary growing of wheat in Australia and in Argentina simply for the purpose of reclaiming the land. This corn was not needed and was, therefore, sold at cheap rates, without thought of profit. Though this condition was only a temporary one, it lasted long enough to contribute to the ruin of British farmers.

Farmers and Foreign Competition

Many British farmers turned their arable land over to grass, hoping to find dairy-farming and the raising of sheep and cattle more profitable enterprises. But already increasing quantities of meat, wool, fruit, butter, and cheese were coming from Australia and New Zealand. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had shortened the journey by weeks, improvements in steamships were continuing to shorten it still further, and the discovery of methods of artificial freezing was making the long-distance transport of perishable foods possible. In 1879 the first cargo of frozen mutton arrived from Australia at the London Docks. It was not long before



A NINETEENTH-CENTURY OMNIBUS

With women riding on the upper deck (unheard of even as late as 1870), and power provided by a petrol engine, this omnibus photographed while crossing Westminster Bridge in 1899 typifies the changing way of life at the turn of the century. The iron tyres riding over roads that were often rough made a journey by bus exhausting as well as uncomfortable. The first motor omnibus in London ran from Victoria to Charing Cross in 1897. It was not until 1910 that horse-buses were withdrawn.

cargoes of beef, cheese, butter, fruit, and poultry followed.

The counties which suffered most from this farming depression were the corn-growing counties of the south and east, for English meat, butter, and milk were still preferred, and could as yet demand fair prices.

Many farms were sold, many let at reduced rents, most fell into shabby decay, with barns, fences, gates, equipment, and the like needing repair or replacement, the cost of which could not be justified. Some were abandoned. Where the farms continued to be worked it was not the labourer who, as yet, felt the pinch. The competition of the towns and insistence of the labourers'

unions had led to increases in wages, while the fall in prices of foods meant that real wages were higher still. In some Midland districts the public-houses would provide a working-man with a pint of beer, a clay pipe, a fill of tobacco, and a portion of bread and cheese, with the society of his fellows in reasonable comfort, for two-pence. The extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers in 1884 had made the politician more solicitous for the welfare of rural workers. Since 1876 no child under ten years of age had worked on the land except at harvest-time, and women were increasingly occupied in turning their cottages into clean and comfortable homes. The losses sustained by landlords and far-

mers, however, meant in time the gradual impoverishment of the whole rural society, and more families left the country for the town. The number of rural workers from 1851 to 1901 fell in England and Wales from about one and a half million to no more than one million.

In some districts, particularly in the Midlands, many moderately sized farms continued active by supplying the local islands of industry which developed without altering the essentially rural nature of the district.

In the county of Shropshire, for example, there were blast furnaces, extensive ironworks, and coal-mines, scattered in comparative isolation in country districts miles from the nearest railway station, connected with the main lines by stretches of privately owned railways. The weekly delivery of "fresh" eggs and "fresh" butter was often carried on foot from farms two or three miles away, while the shops of the little industrial villages were also supplied directly from local farms. Even in such communities it seemed that there was little hope for British agriculture, and that even village survival depended on the capacity for contributing to the national production of manufactured goods.

Mechanical Revolution

Meanwhile in industry the mechanical revolution had changed the whole conception of engineering. Almost every branch of industry was provided with iron and steel equipment, varying from ever-increasing kinds of hand-tools to steam-driven machines. The manufacture of such equipment and of steam-engines to work the machinery had made the iron and steel trades the most important British industry. It had led, too, to engineering specialization within the industry. In a typical ironworks there would be a number of specialized departments or "shops," each under a foreman, and employing skilled workers and labourers. Enquiries would go to the estimating-office for probable costing, and orders received would go to the drawing-office, where the draughtsmen would prepare detailed plans of the work. If castings were required, the patternmakers would make models in wood. These would go to the foundry, where the moulders would

make the castings. The greatest skill was demanded in the boiler-shop, where on a large flat board the foreman would work out the exact shape of the iron plates which would have to be cut and fitted together to construct a vast variety of shapes. This process of geometrical development was known as template-making, and so skilled were some of the experienced hands that the rivet holes were driven into the plates before they were shaped. When the order was completed it would be sent away with a number of fitters and erectors. Such workers had an almost medieval pride in their skill, for as yet there was little standardization, considerable experiment, and great opportunity for ingenuity and individual capacity before the draughtsman's design had become a reality.

Hard Life for Industrial Workers

Work usually began at 5.30 or 6 in the morning, and with a half-hour interval for breakfast and an hour between one and two o'clock, continued until five o'clock. Life in general was hard. There were no regular "amusements" in the smaller industrial districts, except possibly those provided by a "Workers' Institute," with a reading-room, a billiards-room, and, here and there, a "quoits" pit. There was no provision for old age or sickness except that of the unions of the workers themselves. But work was regular, wages good, and food cheap. Many of the workers had gardens or allotments, and many had begun to compete in the annual flower shows.

The growth of the iron and steel industries involved a similar development in coal-mining. In 1870, 110,400,000 tons of coal were raised in the United Kingdom. By the end of the century the amount had been more than doubled. On the average, about four-fifths of this quantity was consumed at home, but the proportion was steadily decreasing; in 1870 it had been nearly nine-tenths, in 1909 it was less than seven-tenths.

Just as an energetic and resourceful person can increase his own real wealth and comforts by, for example, making things for himself, so Britain's productive activities had benefited the British people who had been able to buy British goods in the home markets. But just as the most ingeni-

ous man must remain relatively poor if he has nothing which he does not produce himself, that is, if he can neither buy nor exchange, so a nation is dependent on international trade for all the goods she cannot produce herself. For a generation Britain had not only found ready markets abroad for all she could produce, she had had no serious rival in these markets. After 1875 this wealth-producing monopoly was already being challenged.

From 1850 to 1875 Britain was enjoying the full effect of a virtually unrivalled industrial specialization. In this period imports increased in value from £152,000,000 to £373,000,000 and visible exports, even more dramatically, from £71,000,000 to £223,000,000. Other developing regions were as yet buying British manufactures and British coal to aid in such development, as, for example, the first American railway, which used British rails and engines. Similarly, it was British shipping which carried as yet the bulk of goods in this developing world trade, and though the American marine was beginning to challenge the British, the American Civil War

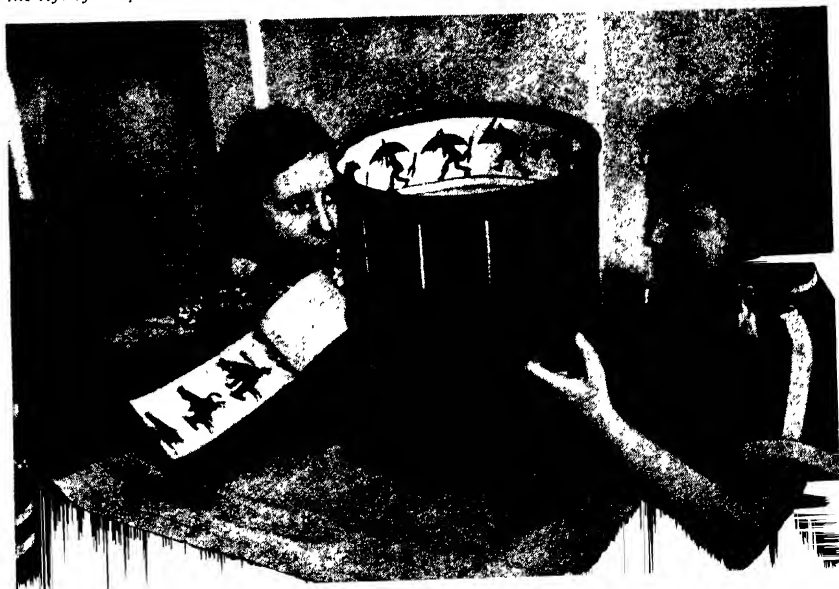
checked her progress and left Britain well to the fore. The discovery of gold in New South Wales in 1852 stimulated the growth of the P. & O. Line, which began regular voyages to Australia by way of Singapore. In 1870 the White Star Line began regular sailings between Liverpool and New York.

At the same time new trading areas were being opened, particularly in the Far East. In 1842, after an unjustifiable war against China, Hongkong passed into British hands and five Chinese ports were opened to British trade. Five more ports were opened to British ships in 1857, and by 1870 Britain was sending annually over £6,000,000 worth of goods to China. By less forcible means Japan and Siam were also persuaded in these years to open up trade with Britain.

As yet there was no serious competition. America could not yet produce sufficient manufactured goods to supply her own rapidly developing needs, and was exporting mainly her old staples, tobacco, rice, and cotton, with increasing quantities of wheat and meat. Nor was there European rivalry. Germany was still buying British

ZOETROPE

This interesting picture recalls a forerunner of the cinema. The toy, a favourite one in the last years of Queen Victoria's reign, consisted of a cylinder open at the top and pierced by a number of slits round the side through which the viewers looked at a series of pictures representing progressive movement. An illusion of motion was thus given. The girl on the left of the picture is holding one of the paper bands on which the figures are reproduced.



manufactures, and most of her tropical or "colonial" imports, such as sugar, tea, coffee, rice, spices, and the like, had to be bought from Britain. Her main exports were wine, beer, and corn, with various local products of specialized craftsmanship, such as Dresden china, Bavarian glass, or Bavarian clocks.

America Becomes a World Force

During these years, however, two factors are clear in retrospect: other nations had awakened to the importance of industrial expansion on a national scale and were hurriedly developing their own natural resources; secondly, other nations had begun to realize the significance of the "possession" of tropical regions as markets and as sources of supply. The United States had vast resources of coal, iron, and most other metals, and oil and timber, and all these were already being rapidly developed. Her rapidly increasing population, which by 1900 was twice that of the United Kingdom, absorbed at first the greater part of American manufactures, but by 1900 the quantity and value of these manufactures were greater than those of any other nation. By that time America had, too, three transcontinental railways and was able to keep in constant touch with Europe by means of four transatlantic cables.

Germany's coal resources were greater than those of the United Kingdom, and she had plentiful supplies of iron. The speed of her development may be illustrated by reference to her steel production. In 1880 Germany produced one and a half million tons of steel, while Britain produced three and three-quarter million tons; in 1895 Germany produced seven and a quarter million tons, Britain six million tons. Thus, while British trade was still expanding, that of Germany was expanding more quickly. Germany, too, had reached the front rank in the production of electrical equipment, and in certain areas of chemical industry, such as that of coal-tar dyeing, which, incidentally, was the invention of a British chemist.

Other European nations were developing, though less rapidly, along similar lines, such as France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and Russia.

This vastly increased production of manufactured goods, capable of adding so much to the world's wealth, was piling up international hatred instead. The aim of each nation was to capture the world's markets, and to protect growing national industries by excluding similar products of rival industrial nations. Consequently tariff barriers began to appear. Germany levied import duties on British manufactures amounting on the average to 25 per cent of their value; by 1890 British goods entering America were taxed at about 73 per cent of their value; France and several other European nations to a less degree adopted the same policy, while Russian duties on imported British goods reached 131 per cent of their value! Only British ports remained open and free to foreign manufactures, raw materials and food, and British manufacturers began to be alarmed at the prospect of our markets being flooded with the rival produce of other nations.

German Development and Competition

There was another potential cause of alarm. Germany, fast developing into Britain's most serious European competitor, had not only achieved her recent unity under Prussia by successful military aggression; it was by this means that she had also gained her richest areas. Silesia, with its wealth of coal, had been wrung from Austria in the Wars of Austrian Succession in the eighteenth century; Lorraine, rich in iron, had been seized from France, with textile-producing Alsace, in the recent war against France. The idea that national success, national wealth, and "world power" implied the subjugation of rival nations by force was already present in Germany. It is significant that in 1889 Britain passed the Naval Defence Act, which stipulated that the British Navy should be maintained at a standard greater than that of any other two nations.

The second factor in this developing international rivalry, the belief that national wealth and pre-eminence depended very largely on the domination of a world-wide empire, led to a scramble for the possession of what distant lands were still unclaimed. There were already three extensive world-states: the British Empire, which was scattered over every continent and sea; the



PUNCH AND JUDY SHOW

A variety of traditional street entertainments were still common about 1900, some of them derived more or less directly from the travelling dramatic companies which were the descendants of the medieval minstrels. The Punch and Judy show itself originated as a puppet show from Italy, and incidentally provided the title for the journal called Punch, which was founded in 1841. "Punch" in Italian is "Punchinello," the clown-like figure who fights with his wife and the police, and represents the opponent of law and order.

United States, which stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and which was exercising through the Monroe Doctrine a vague protectorship over the whole American Continent from pole to pole, with the co-operation of Britain, established in the north; by this "doctrine" no intrusion by other nations into the continent would be tolerated; thirdly, Russia had spread from central Europe to the Pacific. There was little left other than Africa, the Pacific Islands, and parts of southern Asia. In a further generation there was virtually nothing left at all. Britain at first held aloof from this undignified scramble, but not for long. At the end of it she had added

3,500,000 square miles to her oversea territory, more than any other nation except France, much of whose empire was desert land.

After the initial scramble for African land, of which the greater part of the most tempting regions were directly or indirectly under British influence, a conference of fourteen nations met at Berlin to discuss the peaceful and speedy partition of what remained of unclaimed Africa. One resolution of the conference was that no occupation would be recognized as valid by the powers unless such occupation were "effective." The practical implication that nations claiming a share of the African

spoils should effectively establish their authority in these lands as soon as possible led to the rapid and vigorous completion of the partition.

Though the partition was carried out without war between the European nations concerned, it was not achieved without friction. In 1886, Lord Salisbury's empire-building government came into power, and it proceeded by the method of establishing Chartered Companies which, with government support, were to open up trade with native chieftains, and to obtain concessions from them. The most influential of these companies were the Royal Niger Company, the East Africa Company, and the South Africa Company. As these companies operated in every part of Africa, British interests conflicted with those of the other colonizing nations, and treaty settlements defining the respective spheres of influence had to be concluded. Such treaties with Germany, France, Italy, and Portugal successfully solved the immediate problems, but gave no permanent satisfaction to anyone.

Territorial Control in the Pacific

Equally active was the seizure of territory in southern Asia and the Pacific. Britain established a protectorate over part of the Malay Peninsula, while the Dutch extended their control over the archipelago. Farther east, France was forcing her authority on the peoples of Annam, Tongking, and Cochin China, and coming into conflict with British interests in Siam. In the Pacific, France had turned New Caledonia into a penal settlement, and had seized Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands. Australia was alarmed by the French action, and further alarmed when Germany planned the annexation first of eastern then of northern New Guinea. Australia and New Zealand urged Britain to take action, to seize New Guinea, and to establish a protectorate over the Pacific Islands. For the moment Britain was content to establish a protectorate over south New Guinea, and to leave Germany in possession of the north coast and of a number of Pacific Islands. But before the end of the century over a hundred islands had passed to Britain, many of them to be controlled by New Zealand, and the United States formally claimed the Hawaiian

Islands. All the islands of the Pacific had passed into the hands of six Powers: Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Spain, and Chile.

By 1900 half the land mass of the globe has fallen under the control of America and of four European Powers. About half of this area, some twelve million square miles, with a mixed population of four hundred million of the world's two thousand million inhabitants, was British. Next in size came the Russian World-State, of eight and a half million square miles and a twelfth of the world's people. Then came the French Empire, which covered four and a half million square miles, that of the United States with three and a half million, and that of Germany with one and a half million. Outside lay the Mohammedan lands of Turkey and Persia, already growing restive, and the vast land of China, and an awakening Japan. Outside, too, lay South America, over which the United States kept a watchful eye.

British Attitude to Empire-building

It is clear from this very brief survey that the British attitude to empire-building had completely changed. In general, Britain had not sought an empire. The lands she had settled had been granted virtual independence, and had become partners in a Commonwealth of British Nations which might hopefully have been regarded as expressing in part the Liberal dream of international co-operation. British imperial rule in India had resulted not from the deliberate policy of governments, but from the activity of a trading company, and not until it seemed necessary did the British Government take over the responsibility of rule. In the imperial scramble of the late nineteenth century the motive of international jealousy and the competitive bid for world power were obvious and alarming. Not less alarming was the culminating situation, for it was certain that Germany would not be long satisfied with an empire an eighth the size of that of the United Kingdom.

That the new situation was generally recognized at home and in the British Dominions is apparent. It was expressed in the Australian demand for the extension of British authority in the Pacific. It was



ROTTEN ROW ABOUT 1900

By the turn of the century cycling had emerged from its initial difficulties. A safer bicycle, made possible by a geared-up transmission, was invented in 1876; the pneumatic tyre was introduced in 1889; the free-wheel and variable gears in 1899. Bicycling immediately became extremely popular both as a sport and as a pastime, and was adopted almost as enthusiastically by women as by men. As the photograph shows, "Cycling Day" attracted considerable crowds to Rotten Row. Many see in the popularity of the bicycle for women an important step towards the so-called emancipation of the female sex.

expressed, too, when the jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were regarded as opportunities to summon colonial conferences, at which schemes of closer imperial federation were discussed, when the representatives of the Dominions offered voluntary contributions towards the upkeep of the British Navy. The view began to develop that if other nations were aggressively hostile, the British Empire must be made strong enough successfully to defend itself. A wave of imperialism swept over Britain, carrying with it in 1895 the Liberal Unionists into the camp of the Conservatives. This ministry reconquered the Sudan, drove the French out of Fashoda, strengthened the north-west frontier defences in India, developed the view, with Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, that the most

remote parts of the Empire were with the homeland equal parts in an organic whole, and finally fought the South African War. Because this war brought into sharp focus certain views about Britain and the Empire it is necessary briefly to outline its causes and effects.

Since 1806, when Cape Colony passed from Dutch into British hands, the Boers who had left the colony, hoping to pass beyond the sphere of British interest, had founded three other states. Of these Natal had been annexed by Britain; the other two, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, were Boer republics. Between Natal and the Transvaal were the aggressively troublesome Zulus, and in 1877 the British, in response to the request of some of the Boers, annexed the Transvaal to protect it from

Zulu attack. The Zulus did attack, and while their early successes lowered British prestige in South Africa, their defeat made the British protection of the Transvaal no longer necessary. The Boer demand for the independence of their republic had the sympathetic support of Gladstone and, during the negotiations, a small British force on frontier defence was defeated at Majuba Hill. The Liberal Government refused to avenge the defeat, and granted the Transvaal its independence, to the further loss of British prestige in South Africa, where both actions were attributed to weakness. Paul Kruger, the hard old Puritan who was President of the Transvaal, determined that the British should be driven from South Africa. He could count on the support of the Orange Free State, and the movement found supporters even in Cape Colony.

Gold and Cecil Rhodes

In 1886 the discovery of what was to become the world's richest goldfield, in the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal, led to an influx of cosmopolitan adventurers hated by the Boers as "Uitlanders." Rapidly they turned the village of Johannesburg into a flourishing town, while the taxes they were compelled to pay made the Transvaal a wealthy and powerful state. Kruger's Government, however, refused the intruders all civil and political rights, and Kruger answered their complaints by saying that those who disapproved of his laws could leave his country.

The Uitlanders had the support of one of Britain's greatest imperialists, Cecil Rhodes, the millionaire who became Prime Minister of Cape Colony in 1890, and who dreamed of an all-British Africa. Under his direction the British South Africa Company was developing the lands of the Matabeles into "Rhodesia," opening mines, erecting telegraphs, and laying railway lines, to the alarm of the Boers of the Transvaal, whose territory was being outflanked. The Company, by its charter, had the right to maintain a small armed force for its protection, and it was this force which, under Dr. Jameson, went to the assistance of the Uitlanders when they decided to rebel against what they regarded as the tyranny of the Kruger Government. This

unfortunate "Jameson Raid" was made at least with the connivance of Cecil Rhodes. It was disastrous in itself, it had to be discredited by the British Government, it ended the political career of Rhodes, it brought to Kruger the sympathetic support of interested nations, particularly of Germany, and it provided him with the opportunity of trying to unite all the Boers of South Africa for what he could claim to be a defensive action against British aggression. The two Dutch republics could provide an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, who were first-class marksmen, familiar with the land, of indomitable courage, and, in their khaki tunics, capable of taking effective cover. Nor was there any shortage of munitions. In October, 1899, Kruger demanded the withdrawal of British troops, requiring an answer in forty-eight hours. There was, of course, no answer, and Kruger invaded Cape Colony.

The Boer War lasted two and a half years. It began with Boer successes sufficiently alarming to awaken the British into more serious action. Once this was taken the defeat of the Boers was inevitable, but by turning every farm into a fortified refuge, and by baffling guerrilla tactics, the Boers continued their heroic resistance until 1902, when, in May, the Peace of Vereeniging ended the struggle. By this wise treaty the Boers were granted £3,000,000 to help them to reconstruct their ruined farms; they were made members of the British Empire with the promise of self-government at a later date, and were guaranteed against any loss of property or infringement of their liberty.

Boer War Impressions

For several reasons the Boer War of 1899 to 1902 is significant. To many, and especially to many other peoples, it seemed to be an aggressive war by a great imperialist nation against a small community of farmers, waged for imperial ends and for possession of goldfields. Even in Britain itself many shared this view, and an unmistakable reaction against the jingoistic imperialism of the 'nineties followed. This was to some extent reflected in the sympathetic peace treaty. To the majority of the British people, however, it was a war undertaken to defend the rights of the



IN ACTION IN THE BOER WAR

The new science of photography revolutionized the keeping of historic records—it was one of the many great achievements of the Victorian Age—but it was not until the South African War of 1899-1902 that it was really recognized as the means of recording history in the making, and for the first time a number of photographs were taken in action. This photograph shows Canadian troops with fixed bayonets storming a kopje during the war.

British people overseas against the aggressive action of a tyrannical little State, and the acceptance of this point of view in the outposts of the British Empire was reflected in their loyal support. Volunteers from all the Dominions flocked to support the British arms. While the war thus illustrated the general solidity of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it illustrated also that Britain was, except for this support, in a dangerous state of isolation. It seemed certain that Britain had been saved from attack by hostile Powers only by the support of her distant subjects and by the superior strength of her Navy. Thus the century ended with the widespread feeling that storm clouds were already gathering on the international horizon, and that British survival depended on the maintenance of her naval superiority and on the further consolidation of imperial unity.

Problems of Wealth

While nations were increasingly concerned with the competitive production and acquisition of wealth, the problem of a more equitable distribution of wealth within a nation was increasingly occupying men's thoughts. Nations were still at the stage of development which assumes that a nation receives only in proportion to, and in return for, what it gives, irrespective of national needs. We have seen this assumption applied to individuals within a nation, and have observed the effects which a policy based on such an assumption has on the lives of the old and infirm and on the lives of those endowed with relatively poor natural resources or born into environmental conditions which afford relatively poor opportunities. We have seen, too, how principles of common humanitarianism combined with the active agitation of discontented sufferers had broken down this assumption and led to the recognition of national responsibility for conditions affecting the lives of workers, of the poor, of women and children. It was not only in Britain that one could find in the twentieth century signs of an awakening national conscience. In European nations and in British lands overseas national wealth and its distribution were increasingly being regarded as matters for State control.

In New Zealand, in the last decade of the

century, a bold and comprehensive series of social experiments were pointing the way. To increase the number of small holdings and to break up the large estates a graduated land tax was levied on all but small holdings. Undeveloped Crown Lands were let at low rentals, so that a large number of State tenants were created. To substitute for the strike, in trade disputes, an acceptable system of arbitration, Conciliation Boards with representatives of employers and employees were formed, and, as a final court, an Arbitration Court was established and its decisions were given the force of law. The State, moreover, constructed railways and bought mines, borrowing money for both purposes. A national scheme of insurance and the granting of old-age pensions rounded off an extraordinary scheme of social reform.

Unlike New Zealand, which in this decade was increasingly prosperous, Australia was passing through a period of economic depression and industrial strife. But here, too, was apparent the same sympathetic attitude to the workers, and a similar sense of national responsibility, while the six Australian colonies were rapidly approaching federation. Wages Boards and a Court of Industrial Appeals were established, rather on the lines of the New Zealand experiment. In each of the colonies Labour parties were formed, and when the first Commonwealth Parliament met, in 1901, representatives of the Labour Party were present.

State Socialism in Germany

Even in Germany, though for different reasons, Bismarck had initiated a policy of State Socialism, with insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age. Outside these voluntary actions by governments various theories of social democracy were spreading, some, like Marxian communism, advocating the revolutionary principle that the complete political and economic control of a nation should be in the hands of the workers. It was to counteract the spread of this doctrine in Germany that Bismarck had made his conciliatory social adjustments.

In Britain there were several varieties of social doctrine. The disciples of Henry George wanted to end the private owner-

ship of land. The Co-operative Society, which had developed from the experiments of Robert Owen, though not on the lines he had anticipated, was content to share the profits of trading. The Social Democratic Federation, the "S.D.F.," was essentially Marxist and believed that the capitalist control of national economy could be broken only by revolutionary methods. The Fabians, on the other hand, were not revolutionary, but believed in the progressive evolution of a social State.

Meanwhile, successful direct action by unskilled workers had changed the complexion of the Trade Unions, the aims of which were much more sympathetically understood since the publication of their history by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. In 1889 the London Dock strike, the strike for the "Dockers' Tanner," attracted widespread sympathy, and contributions poured in even from Australia. One of its leaders was John Burns. The strike, which was successful, helped to make clear to Trade Unions the need to embrace the whole of labour in a form which could have parliamentary representation.

In 1893 Keir Hardie founded the Independent Labour Party, which aimed to capture the control of the State through political action. In 1892 Keir Hardie, elected to parliament, entered the House wearing a cap and escorted by a brass band. The I.L.P. had not risen from the Trade Unions, though it hoped these would join the movement, and consequently had not sufficiently direct contact with the workers. The Unions had such direct contact, particularly after the expansion of Trade Unionism amongst the poorer and unskilled workers, and in 1899 the Trade Union Congress resolved to take direct

political action themselves. In 1900 the Labour Party was born. Its resources were the contributions paid by the workers; its aims were to secure representation in Parliament and, through constitutional methods, to bring into being a social State.

Thus the nineteenth century ended not only with the threat of not-far-distant international strife, it ended, too, with signs of a coming struggle between "Capital" and "Labour," or, more accurately, of a struggle by workers to gain control of the governments of nations. Throughout these chapters one consistent theme has been the dangerous folly of competitive mercantilism, and on its international side the policy was heading rapidly towards its culminating tragedy of world war. The workers' struggle implied a similar assumption, that disproportionate possessions and privileges would never voluntarily be given up and, therefore, that a social State involved first a victory of the workers over other classes. This view many British socialists, including John Burns, deplored. The conception of a State government in which all interests are adequately represented and which regards the community as generally responsible for the good of all its members is very different from the view that individuals exist only for the State, and from the view that the interests of a community are best served when any one section of its members has the exclusive control of its government or of its economy. The Liberal dream of a world-wide community of fraternizing nations was already a shattered illusion; but no less remote seemed the vision of a genuinely democratic and social State with its members co-operating for the common good.

Test Yourself

1. Account for the decline in agricultural prosperity in Britain after 1875.
2. Account for the decline of British liberalism in public favour.
3. How far are the major tragedies of the twentieth century foreshadowed in the nineteenth.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

THE EDWARDIAN AGE

NOTHING of historical importance ended with the reign of Queen Victoria. The pillars of the Victorian Age had been crumbling in the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century. The working-class had begun to organize itself politically. The cause of women's emancipation had been raised and had won its first victories. In the arts the attack on what Matthew Arnold called Philistinism had triumphed in the popularity of the Pre-Raphaelites' painting, in William Morris's art and craft, and in the social comedies of Oscar Wilde. In the applied sciences, the powers of horse and steam were being rivalled by those of the petrol engine and electricity.

If from one point of view the Victorian Age ended before the death of the Queen, from another it continued well into the reign of her son. The new monarch was an old man, and if the people were expecting a new interpretation of constitutional monarchy from him, or even a new example in taste, they were to be disappointed, for Edward VII was a stickler for etiquette and public decorum, whatever his private predilections may have been. The statesmen who ruled Britain were still those aristocratic Unionists who had been in office since 1896: Lord Salisbury was still Prime Minister, and the House of Commons still under the languid if not lazy leadership of his nephew, Arthur Balfour, and when Salisbury retired in 1902 and Balfour succeeded him there was little change. The problems that faced the Government were still those of the late Victorian Age. The Irish problem was still as it had been for so many years past, the main question troubling Parliament, where it formed the chief line of division between parties, the

Conservatives calling themselves Unionists—the party for the preservation of the union of Britain and Ireland—and the Liberals being the party of Irish Home Rule, while the third and most homogeneous party was

that of the Irish Nationalists. The main administrative problem was that of education, as it had been since Lord Salisbury had set up the Board of Education in 1899. The main overseas question was still the Boer War, which was dragging on in a series of guerrilla actions that seemed unending when the new reign began.

It would be an exaggeration to call the solutions applied to those three questions in 1902 and 1903 epoch-making, but there was enough that was new about them to make people feel that perhaps they were living in a new age that deserved a new name.

The Boer War was brought to an end in May, 1902, by a negotiated peace signed at Vereeniging. It had been a shocking war. It had taken Great Britain years of fighting to bring a small community of Boer farmers to conditional surrender; it had driven the British to measures which could hardly seem other than shameful (over twenty thousand Boer women and children died in British concentration camps in fourteen months), and it had lost Great Britain the sympathy of the civilized world. But there was a generosity about the peace terms which redeemed much of this. The Boers who accepted the sovereignty of King Edward were not persecuted; they were promised self-government for the future; their Dutch language was allowed in schools and law courts; and a grant of three million pounds was made by the British Government for the rehabilitation of Boer farms. It was the sort of peace that makes the enemies of yesterday into the allies of tomorrow.

Apart from the Peace of Vereeniging, the only memorable achievement of 1902 was an Education Act which Sidney Webb, its chief inspirer if not its author, called "epoch-making in the history of English education." And so indeed it was. By abolishing the old School Boards it brought the board-schools under the



THE MECHANICAL AGE

The similarities apparent in this picture of Regent Street in 1912 are more striking than the differences compared with a similar scene at the present-day—and that in spite of the fact that Regent Street has been completely remodelled. It is remarkable how completely and how quickly the petrol engine revolutionized road transport. Every vehicle that can be seen in this picture is petrol-driven. Already the ubiquitous horse-drawn vehicles of the Victorian Age have virtually disappeared. Changes are most marked in the apparel worn by women; among the men there is little to remark at first glance except the disappearance from the modern scene of the then popular straw hat (the “boater”).

authority of education committees of the county and borough councils. By extending rate-aid to the voluntary schools—that is, to the elementary schools provided and hitherto maintained principally by the Church of England—it brought both types

of school under the same local-government authority (although the voluntary schools, which at that time had many more pupils than the old board-schools, maintained control of religious instruction). By extending the local councils' authority to “higher



EDUCATION FOR ALL

At the turn of the century the idea of compulsory free education for all was still rather a novelty. Compulsory education was legalized in 1880, the Education Act making attendance at school obligatory from the age of five until twelve. In 1902 rate-aid was extended to voluntary schools and both they and the board schools were brought under the authority of county and borough councils. As this picture of a teacher in a class of girls at the Shepperton Road School, Islington, shows, education was soon to be interpreted in a more liberal way than the mere accumulation of facts. Here children are being instructed in the use of the toothbrush and care of teeth.

or non-elementary education," it made possible an enormous and sorely needed development of secondary and technical schools.

The lack of these had long been a crying scandal in England. In 1901 there were fewer than twenty-eight thousand boys and girls getting any full-time education above the elementary level, and these were nearly all children of the well-to-do. The only way a poor man's son could get a secondary schooling was by winning a scholarship, and the proportion of scholarships to members of the population was very low—in Lancashire, for instance, it was 1.1 per cent. Facilities for technical education hardly existed outside a few big towns; it

was no wonder that so many important scientific inventions of the last part of the nineteenth century—the internal-combustion engine, the cinematograph, artificial silk, for example—were made and developed on the Continent, where technical schooling, like secondary schooling for the children of the poor, had gone much further than in England. The Education Act of 1902, by making schooling in all its stages a public responsibility, laid one of the most important foundations of the new England of the twentieth century, which was to be the age of State-control. Not that the Government was aware of this at the time: "I did not realize," said Arthur Balfour later, "that the Act would mean more expense and more bureaucracy."

Attack on Free Trade

There was nothing epoch-making about the Unionists' attempt to solve the Irish question, but their Land Purchase Act of 1903 was perhaps the most beneficial piece of legislation that Englishmen had ever made for Ireland. Parliament voted five million pounds a year as a loan to enable Irish peasants to buy their farms from landlords, the money being repayable on easy terms (the interest and sinking-fund rate was 3½ per cent, the period of repayment was sixty-eight and a half years). If this step had been taken a generation earlier, when the Irishmen's grievances were largely economic, it might have been sufficient, but now there was nothing that could satisfy the Irish majority except Home Rule, and that was out of the question for the Conservative party so long as it called itself Unionist and retained its conservative principles.

If there was one thing more than another that made Englishmen begin to feel that they were living in a new age it was the campaign opened by Joseph Chamberlain against the doctrine of Free Trade which had been the creed and pride of the nation throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Joseph Chamberlain was anything but a Victorian figure. He was not an aristocrat, he had little culture, and his early years had been spent as an industrialist and a civic reformer in Birmingham. His business acumen, his hustling temperament and his idealism made him a type more familiar

in American than in English public life. He held no office but that of Colonial Secretary, which in the hands of anyone else would have been insignificant, but he had made it almost the key position in the Cabinet. Beside him the aristocratic Unionist ministers seemed old and tired, though in fact he was older than most of them—he had been born in 1836—and had very much more reason to be tired. By the turn of the century he was the leading personality in British politics, the only one with new ideas and the determination to put them into practice at once.

Chamberlain's Campaign

The campaign was launched on 15 May, 1903, in a speech made in Birmingham on Chamberlain's return from a visit to South Africa. Its theme was Imperialism, its vision that of an Empire united "closely, intimately, affectionately" by the bonds of trade. "You want an Empire," said Chamberlain. "Do you think it better to cultivate trade with your own people, or to let that go in order that you may keep the trade of those who are your competitors and rivals? . . . It is the business of the British statesmen to do everything they can, even at some present sacrifice, to keep the trade of the Colonies with Great Britain; to increase that trade, to promote it, even if in doing so we lessen somewhat the trade with our foreign competitors." The programme for Britain was to be Imperial Preference, a Tariff Reform which would establish a common low tariff on inter-imperial trade, thus giving the Empire preference over foreign countries on whose goods a higher tariff might be imposed.

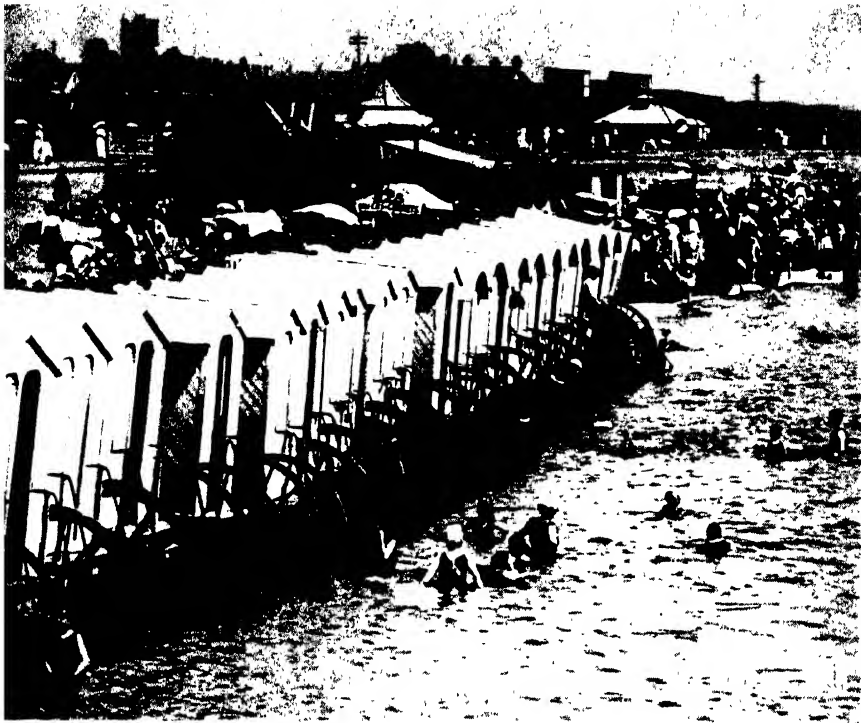
To attack Free Trade in 1903 was as shocking as it would be to attack freedom of conscience in 1953. There might be some occasions on which trade should not be free—it might be necessary to levy customs duties for revenue purposes as Britain had already done on tea, coffee, and tobacco, it might be advisable to impose temporary tariffs on foreign manufactured articles in reprisal against tariffs damaging to British exports (Balfour was to propose this in 1904)—but to propose tariffs as a permanent protection, to set up a tariff wall between the British Empire and the outside world, seemed an appalling heresy, a breach

of faith that would lead to the downfall of any government that committed it.

The Birmingham speech put the Cabinet in a quandary. If they disowned Chamberlain, they would lose the most popular and the ablest leader in the country. If they supported him, they would split the Unionist party and possibly lose favour altogether. Arthur Balfour attempted a compromise. Chamberlain resigned office and went out to convert the country independently to Tariff Reform without committing either Government or Party to his programme. On the other hand, a few Free Trade ministers resigned from the Cabinet, and Chamberlain's son, Austen, became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

An Exciting Political Struggle

The political campaign which followed was the most exciting that any living Englishman could remember. Chamberlain spoke at Glasgow, Greenock, Newcastle, Liverpool, Cardiff, Newport, and Leeds, and everywhere there were huge and rapturous audiences. The entire Conservative Press was for Chamberlain. His Tariff Reform League, founded on the lines of the Anti-Corn Law League which had converted the country to Free Trade half a century ago, had for its President C. A. Pearson, who owned the *Daily Express*, the *Standard* and a chain of provincial papers. The most popular paper in England was the Conservative *Daily Mail*, then sold at a halfpenny. In February, 1904, the Liberal *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle* reduced their price to a halfpenny to compete with it. The whole attention of the public was directed to the tariff campaign. Never again in time of peace would there be such exclusive public attention on a political issue and on political personalities. It must be remembered that there were no film stars at that time, no sportsmen with nationwide reputations. The Press had not yet become a vehicle of entertainment; the newspapers were still concerned primarily if not wholly with news and views on political subjects. The politicians had no rivals for public attention: every reader's eye was focused on them, and for the listener's ear they had no competitors except the clergy. The whole nation debated the arguments of the Free Traders and



OH, TO BE BESIDE THE SEASIDE!

In spite of much talk about freedom, and the frequent complaints of contemporary writers that the Edwardian Age saw the abandonment of the finer conventions which had governed Victorian life, established precedent was little affected until the impact of the First World War gave impetus to changing thought. Nothing illustrates the conservatism of the age better than what now seem the outlandish bathing habits of the people. It was not only that the bathing-dress commonly worn was a voluminous garment which revealed little more than did a day-dress, but as this picture of Southsea beach shows, even the "modesty boxes"—the bathing machines of Victorian times—continued in brisk demand.

Tariff Reformers, and took the label of one side or another as later football crowds would sport the favours of rival teams in a Cup Final.

On the whole the debate was on a very high level. Whatever may be thought of the tact or timeliness of Chamberlain's campaign, it must be admitted that it provided a popular education in economics without parallel before or after. It made people think. Was the period of England's increasing prosperity drawing to a close? There were signs that it was. Agriculture had been on the down-grade for thirty years; over a quarter of the arable land had been allowed

to go out of cultivation between 1871 and 1901. Unemployment had been increasing: every year between 1899 and 1904 had seen more Englishmen out of work. Industry was facing bitter opposition: every foreign country had set up tariffs to protect its trade, and some countries, Germany in particular, were dumping goods below cost price on the English market which was defenceless against them. Might it be that the time for Free Trade was passed? Might the only future for agriculture be to protect the British farmer by tariffs on foreign goods? The only future for industry be protection against foreign manufacturers?

Chamberlain was proposing a duty of two shillings a quarter on foreign corn, 5 per cent on foreign meat and dairy produce, and 10 per cent on foreign manufactured goods, on the understanding that all colonial produce would be free. Could he be right?

General Election of 1906

As the campaign went on it became more and more apparent that in the opinion of the majority of the English people he was not. Tariffs on food would mean high prices, which were the last thing the working people wanted. Tariffs of any sort would mean an abandonment of Free Trade, and Free Trade still seemed to most people to constitute the real basis of England's prosperity.

Knowing that the elections would go against them, the Unionist Government resigned in December, 1905. But they never imagined how sweeping the swing would be. The electorate returned only 157 Unionists against 397 Liberals, 51 Labour and 83 Irish Nationalists. At the last elections, those of 1900, the returns had been 402 Unionists and 186 Liberals; an almost complete reversal of the previous position.

It was an extraordinary swing of the pendulum of public opinion. There can be all manner of ways of explaining it. It might be supposed that after over ten years of Conservative-Unionist rule the public would be bound to want a change. It might be held that the Cabinet during the few years before the election had seemed increasingly slothful and impotent. It might be imagined that the Unionist split between out-and-out Chamberlainite protectionists and moderate Balfourian reformers would discredit the party. But two things about the election results stood out in a way that could be denied by nobody. The first was that the country had voted for Free Trade; there had been two and a half years of continuous debate and the people had made up their mind. The second was that the rise of the Labour Party was an incontrovertible fact, and one likely to change the whole face of British politics.

The strength of the working-class movement lay in the trade unions. They had over a million and a half members at the turn of

the century—more than a fifth of all the working men in the country. They had a parliament of their own, the Trade Union Congress, which had been meeting ever since 1871. The whole question was in which direction their strength would be used.

The unions were for the greater part conservative in the sense that they accepted the capitalist system and contented themselves with struggling for better conditions for the employed class within that system. But the last years of Queen Victoria's reign had seen the beginnings of an attempt to convert the unions to socialism. The Independent Labour Party had been founded for that purpose in 1893 by Keir Hardie, and the decade that followed showed an extraordinary success for Keir Hardie's preaching.

Founding the Labour Party

Keir Hardie is the major prophet of the British Labour movement. In its later developments it might forget his inspiration, but it could never grow far away from the character he had implanted in it. He was not an intellectual, not a Marxist, not a theorist in any academic sense. "I am a Socialist," he said, "because socialism means Fraternity founded on Justice, and the fact that in order to secure it it is necessary to transfer land and capital from private to public ownership is a mere incident in the Crusade." He was a Christian, a lay-preacher in the old dissenting tradition. "Oh, men and women, in the name of that God you profess to believe in," he once asked a working-class audience, "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth who died to save your souls, how long do you intend to submit to a system that is defacing God's image upon you, which is blaming and marring God's handiwork, which is destroying the lives of men, women, and children? Do you not think that God, who made everything else beautiful, intended you to be free also?" To the House of Commons he took another tone: "Most Members of this House," he told them, "have a more direct interest in the Stock Exchange than they have in the sufferings of the poor."

Socialist propaganda owed nearly as much to Robert Blatchford as it did to



THE AGE OF FREE SPEECH

One of the lions of Trafalgar Square watches impassively over an almost all-male mass meeting addressed in May, 1913, by the great Radical Keir Hardie, whose subject incongruously enough was the Suffragette movement. This was an age of political unrest on the grand scale. Keir Hardie, himself originally a Scottish miner, became a Labour Member of Parliament in 1892 and was responsible for the founding of the Independent Labour Party in the following year.

Keir Hardie. Blatchford had founded a weekly paper, the *Clarion*, in 1891, and soon it had a circulation of sixty thousand. The *Clarion* was much more than a newspaper; it was a social movement, almost a religion. *Clarion* Clubs sprang up all over the country—football clubs, camping clubs, above all cycling clubs which brought young people a hundred miles on bicycles on a summer Sunday to hear one of the Socialist leaders make a speech. Red-painted *Clarion* vans toured the country to preach Socialist doctrines where they had never been heard before. Socialism was now becoming a "movement" in the social sense. Could it ever be a political movement? Between 1900 and 1902 Blatchford was writing a book, *Britain for the British*. "My chief object in writing this book," he said in the

preface, "has been to persuade you that you need a Labour Party. . . . The issue is not between Liberals and Tories; it is an issue between the privileged class and the workers."

Ramsay MacDonald

The achievement of turning the working-class movement to the support of a separate political party owes perhaps more to James Ramsay MacDonald than to anyone else. The son of a Scots peasant woman, his education had been in an elementary school as pupil and teacher before he made his way to London to scrape a living as a journalist. There he became a Socialist and was one of the founders of the I.L.P. He had gifts of political shrewdness that were lacking in Keir Hardie, Blatchford, and all the other older leaders. When at last a number of trade unions were persuaded to set up a committee to run Labour candidates for Parliament, MacDonald was elected secretary. This Labour Representation Committee consisted not of individuals but of Socialist organizations (the I.L.P., the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society) and of trade unions. Not all unions were affiliated; the miners, for instance, stayed outside and ran their own candidates for Parliament. Under MacDonald's guidance the Committee won three Labour seats in by-elections by June, 1903. No one calling at the headquarters of this future Labour party would have imagined it capable of much success in the next General Election. "A small room in the flat occupied by Ramsay MacDonald and his family on the second floor of a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. A table. Two or three chairs. If a fourth or fifth visitor turned up he was given a seat on the piles of newspapers and magazines that littered the floor." (Halévy—*History of the British People*.) Yet the Labour Representation Committee ran fifty candidates for the election of January, 1906, putting up a quarter of their election expenses and offering £200 a year during his parliamentary career to every candidate who might be elected. Of these L.R.C. candidates, twenty-nine were returned to the House of Commons, where in February, 1906, they called themselves the Labour Party. But in fact the Labour group in

Parliament was fifty-one strong, for it included fourteen members from the Miners' Federation and a number who had been elected as independents.

It was a strange House of Commons that assembled after the elections. Nearly half of the members were new men who had never sat in the House before. The ranks of the landed gentry, the bankers, and the railway-company directors were thinned, and in their place on the Liberal and Unionist benches sat men of a type new to Parliament—journalists, sociologists, university professors, intellectuals of one sort or another. Labour members were without exception men of working-class origin. There had been working-men in Parliament before, but never more than three or four of them. The solid phalanx of fifty working-class M.P.s gave a new tone to the House. The Liberal majority was so huge that the Government need take no notice of the Labour vote in Parliament, but the ministers knew that if they did not find a way of appeasing the working-class in the country that class might decide to vote *en masse* for the new party at the next elections.

"All the Talents"

The Liberal Government which had been formed on Balfour's resignation in December, 1905, before the General Election, included more able men than had ever before sat together in a British Government. The Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, was a man of no very remarkable talents, though he was to prove himself an admirable leader, but his colleagues included Haldane at the War Office, Asquith at the Exchequer, Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, John Morley at the India Office, Augustine Birrell at the Board of Education, and Lloyd George at the Board of Trade. The post of Under-Secretary for the Colonies was given to a young convert from the Unionist party, Winston Churchill.

One reform passed by this remarkable Government in its first year was a direct concession to Labour opinion. The Trade Unions had never stopped agitating against the Taff Vale decision, and when the Government in 1906 brought forward a Bill to modify it, the Labour Party declared itself

dissatisfied and submitted a text of its own. Campbell-Bannerman accepted the Labour text, and in this version the Trades Disputes Act was passed. It exempted the funds of Trade Unions from all actions for damages, and it enacted that whatever was lawful for an individual to do should be lawful for any combination of individuals. Henceforth the Trade Unions would have the right of peaceful picketing and persuasion during a strike.

Union of South Africa

Apart from this act, the reforms of the first years of the Liberal Government were not outstanding. The House of Lords threw out a Plural Voting Bill and an Education Bill which favoured the Nonconformists. The most active ministers were Haldane, who reformed the army by setting up a General Staff, by forming an Expeditionary Force of seven divisions, and by merging the old yeomanry and volunteers into his new Territorial Force; and Lloyd George, whose Merchant Shipping Act improved the conditions of merchant seamen. The most memorable achievement of the first years of Liberal rule was that of the Prime Minister over the South African question. Thanks to his skill and determination, the Cabinet was persuaded that the time had come to give full colonial self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. His faith was justified by the sequel. The Boers elected their old leaders, General Botha and General Smuts, as heads of the Government of Transvaal, and these men played the main part in bringing the old enemies, English and Boers, together in South Africa. In 1908, delegates from all four South African parliaments drew up a new constitution for a United South Africa which would count as a self-governing Dominion as distinct from a Colony—a distinction first recognized in 1907.

Meanwhile Campbell-Bannerman had died. He had been succeeded in April, 1908, by Asquith, a scholarly lawyer from the Nonconformist Yorkshire middle-class who had married into high society and made a reputation as a debater. The first thing that the new Prime Minister did was to appoint Lloyd George to his old place at the Exchequer. In the next year the little Welsh-

man became the outstanding public figure in England, taking the position held in the time of the Unionist Government by Joseph Chamberlain, now paralysed and retired from public life. Not all the social reforms of 1909 were due to Lloyd George's initiative, but the public gave him the credit for them, and certainly they all owed much to his energy and there was no one else in the Government who had his passionate desire to relieve the condition of the poor.

Reform of Labour Conditions

There was no social security in the modern sense in England before 1909. If a worker belonged to a Trade Union he might have some protection against his employer, but if he were in a trade that had no union he might be, and often was, sweated literally to death. If a worker lost his job and had no savings, he had to go to the workhouse. If he fell sick or was disabled or grew too old to work, again there was nothing for him and his family except the workhouse, unless he preferred to starve, as he sometimes did, for the workhouses were barracks where the paupers were herded with every type of ne'er-do-well and petty criminal. In 1909 a beginning was made towards the reform of the workhouses by the setting up of a Royal Commission on the Poor Law which condemned the Act of 1834 and proposed that aged and infirm persons and paupers' children should be looked after in special institutions and that in certain cases outdoor relief should be granted. A beginning was made, too, in the campaign against "sweating." The Trade Boards Act set up committees of workers, employers, and independent members to fix wages in four of the worst sweated trades—tailoring, lace-making, paper-bag making, and chain-making. But the most important reform of 1909 was the old-age pensions scheme which came into operation on 1 January. It provided a non-contributory State pension of five shillings a week to every man and woman over the age of seventy whose income was under £21 a year. By present-day standards this does not look generous, but it was of enormous importance as a precedent, establishing the principle of unconditional State aid to the needy. The five shillings was not intended to keep a

pensioner entirely; it was given as a supplement to what a thrifty person might have been expected to save, and in fact it was enough to save many thousands of old people from the workhouse.

The money for all this would have to come from somewhere, and it could not come from the very poor. And it was not only the old-age pensions that would make new taxes necessary. The British public in 1909 was in one of its rare moods of clamouring for re-armament. The German Empire was building eight new dreadnoughts, or battleships of the new all-big-gun type. The British Admiralty was asking for money to lay down six new dreadnoughts in 1909, but the Cabinet's opinion was that four would be enough in that year. The public, however, raised a clamour for eight. "We want eight and we won't wait" was the slogan of the day, and the Government gave in and decided to build eight. This would mean that another fifteen million pounds would have to be found by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Britain's Most Famous Budget

Lloyd George's Budget of 1909 was the most famous in English history. It was known as the People's Budget, but there was nothing revolutionary about it, and its popularity was due not so much to the benefits it conferred on the masses as to the frantic opposition it aroused from the rich: the popular view was that if the rich were so much against it, they must have some bad motive for their opposition. The Budget contained no tax-relief for the poor; on the contrary, tobacco was taxed an additional eightpence a pound and spirits an additional 3s. 9d. a gallon. It gave a minor relief to the middle classes by allowing an abatement of income-tax in respect of £10 for every child for people whose income was below £500. The income-tax remained at ninepence in the pound on all earned incomes under £3,000, but on earned income over that and on all unearned incomes it was raised to 1s. 2d. On incomes over £5,000 there was a super-tax of sixpence in the pound to be paid on the amount by which they exceeded £3,000. If this were the only measure on which the rich were to be "soaked," the Budget might have passed without much oppo-



BANK HOLIDAY ON HAMPSTEAD HEATH, 1900

The Fair held on August Bank Holiday Monday on Hampstead Heath has, since its inception, been one of the most popular holiday gatherings in southern England. The photograph above is of Bank Holiday revellers on Hampstead Heath in 1900. Holidays—or Holy Days—originally were decreed by the Church. Gradually many fell into disuse and in the nineteenth century, when there was much “sweated labour,” national holidays were deemed necessary. The method adopted to ensure them was closure of the banks.

sition, but special taxes were laid on two classes which were the backbone of the Tory Party. The landed gentry were outraged by the imposition of a duty of 20 per cent on the unearned increment of land value, to be paid whenever land changed hands, and the brewers were embittered by a tax of 50 per cent on the annual value of licensed premises.

The uproar against these proposals was as great as if they had threatened the rich with ruin. The Opposition M.P.s formed a Budget Protest League. The Conservative Press, led by Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe and proprietor of *The Times*, fulminated against Lloyd George as if he had been a Socialist bent on leading the country into class war. Financiers threatened to remove their business from London; landed gentry talked of selling their estates and investing the money overseas. Lloyd George carried the defence of

his Budget outside the House, and in a series of crowded public meetings worked the audience into ecstasies by taunting the rich; he used a weapon new to English politics, the weapon of Welsh humour.

The Budget was passed by the House of Commons on 4 November by 379 votes to 149. But when it went to the House of Lords for its second reading on 30 November, the Lords, by 350 votes to 134, rejected it. Had the Lords the right to veto financial provisions passed by the elected representatives of the people? That was the question which the Liberals put to the country in the General Election of January, 1910.

The whole question of the powers of the House of Lords in a democratic age was one that was bound to arise sooner or later. If the Lords had kept to the function of acting as a check on foolishly popular impulse, it need not have arisen until later, but in the generation before 1910

they had turned into a partisan assembly. They had become a Tory House, acquiescing in everything done by Salisbury and the Unionist Governments, thwarting every major measure put forward by the Liberals. From 1895 to 1905 when the Unionists were in power they were so quiescent that the public hardly knew that they existed, but as soon as the Liberals took office they sprang to life again. No fewer than seven important reforms were dammed by the Lords in the years between 1906 and 1910. The Education Bill of 1906 was so much stoppered and blocked by House of Lords amendments that the Government in the end dropped it. The Plural Voting Bill aroused the Lords' opposition because it would have restricted the plural voter to using only one of his alternative votes. The Evicted Tenants Bill of 1907 was so much sieved and restricted that in its amended form it was not worth passing. The Licensing Bill of 1908, which would have suppressed thirty thousand redundant public-house licences, was rejected by a private meeting of Unionist peers at which the brewing interests made it clear that they would never vote for the party again if the

Lords let it through. The Housing and Town Planning Bill of 1909 was hedged about with restrictions to the advantage of landlords and railway companies. The Irish Land Bill was perverted by amendments in the interest of the landlords who, the Lords insisted, must give their consent before anything could be done in congested areas, while for estates outside congested areas compulsory purchase must be abolished altogether.

All this had aroused no great feeling among the public as a whole, but when the Lords rejected the Budget of 1909 the popular passion was awakened. Not for fifty years had the Lords rejected a finance measure, and this was the first People's Budget. Doubtless Lloyd George had counted on the Lords rejecting it and had intended there to be a General Election on this issue. By-elections had been going against the Government, and it was hard to think of any other issue on which the Liberals could have appealed to the country with success. The results of the elections of January, 1910, were 275 Liberals, 40 Labour, 82 Irish Nationalists, and 273 Unionists. The first three parties would

DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE LICENSING BILL

The Licensing Bill of 1908 would have suppressed thirty thousand redundant public house licences. It occasioned considerable opposition of which this procession photographed on the Embankment in London in September 1908 is evidence. But one of the most telling factors in securing the Bill's rejection was the intimation by the brewing interests at a meeting of Unionist peers, that they never again would support the Party if the Bill secured passage.



be in alliance on most subjects and would therefore have a joint majority of 124 in the House of Commons.

The question was now what action the Liberals would take against the House of Lords. They decided not to attempt to reform it, nor to take this opportunity to change its composition so as to transform it from a body consisting largely of hereditary peers into one with more selective membership and so better able to play its part in a democratic age. They confined themselves to asserting a principle which had long been an unwritten part of the British constitution, namely, that the House of Lords should be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a Money Bill, and to restricting the Lords' rights over other Bills to a suspensory veto. But what would happen if the Lords were to refuse these proposals? The only way out would be to ask the King to create new peers—five hundred of them if need be—to give the Liberals a majority in the House of Lords.

Death of King Edward VII

Before the issue could come to a head, public attention was diverted by the sudden death of the King. Edward VII died on 6 May, 1910. He had been a popular monarch, and in their sorrow at his passing the public was inclined to think that he had been an important one. This was certainly not the case: his influence on affairs and his understanding of political realities had not been as great as his mother's, and the men he had surrounded himself with were not those who counted for anything in politics. But he was a good constitutional king, and at first the public was inclined to doubt whether his successor could fill the place so satisfactorily. George V, when he came to the throne at the age of forty-five, was an unknown personality. All that was generally known about him was that he had none of his father's geniality, but that he spoke good English (he was the first king since the seventeenth century who could do so). The change of monarch, it was felt, and rightly felt, would not make much difference. The Edwardian Age would go on after the death of Edward.

The next stage in the House of Lords deadlock was the calling of a joint committee of the two parties. It failed, and the

Prime Minister, after consultation with the new king, decided to dissolve Parliament and to hold another General Election, on the clear understanding that if the Unionists again failed to win a majority the House of Lords must accept the reduction of their powers or face the addition of new peers who would force them to accept it. At the election-campaign of December, 1910, the Unionists tried to divert attention from the Parliament Bill by concentrating on their opposition to Liberal proposals for Irish Home Rule, but the electorate returned candidates in almost the same party-proportion as in January: the result was 272 Liberals, 42 Labour, 84 Irish Nationalists, and 272 Unionists. The Government now went ahead with its Bill, and after a summer of furious parliamentary debating the Lords passed it by 131 votes to 14.

Power of the House of Lords Limited

The outcome of this long constitutional controversy was very meagre. All that the Parliament Act of 1911 provided was that Parliaments should last for a maximum of five years instead of seven, that the House of Lords should have no veto over a Money Bill and that their power to hold up any other Bill should be limited to three years, after which it would become law in spite of them. Perhaps the most surprising thing about the whole controversy was the conservatism of the Liberals. They had shown themselves singularly reluctant to urge the creation of new peers, although the draft list which Asquith drew up was of men whose value to the Upper House of Parliament none but a die-hard could have disputed. They had shown no evidence of an urgent desire to make the House of Lords a more democratic body. On this they contented themselves with a vague remark in the preamble of the Parliament Act: "Whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists, a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation. . . ."

Even the House of Commons was not yet constituted on a popular basis and the Government had no intention of making it so. The greater part of the adult population was still disenfranchised. An agita-



"SUFFRAGETTE" DISTURBANCE

Though John Stuart Mill tried to get the vote for women in 1867, no practical advance had been made by 1903 when Mrs. Pankhurst founded the Women's Social and Political Union. From the election of 1906 till the outbreak of the First World War agitation for votes for women was conducted continuously. "Suffragettes" created disturbances and courted arrest to draw attention to their demand. War was to bring women economic independence and thereby open the way to the franchise.

tion for "Votes for Women" had been growing and was now reaching a climax. Thanks to the violent form that it was taking, the women's movement for constitutional reform would arouse much more public excitement than the House of Lords question had done.

The emancipation of women had gone a long way in the reign of Queen Victoria. It began as a movement for education. There were no schools in England for the secondary education of girls until Miss Buss founded the North London Collegiate School in 1850. In 1858, Miss Beale became

Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, and in 1872 the Girls' Public Day School Trust was established. The next step was to win the right of university education for women. Girton College was founded near Cambridge in 1872 and Lady Margaret Hall was opened in Oxford six years later. In the early 1880s Cambridge and Oxford allowed women to sit for their examinations, though they did not agree to confer degrees upon them until much later.

New Legal Rights for Women

Meanwhile women had been gaining new legal rights. A series of Married Women's Property Acts passed between 1870 and 1882 gave a woman the rights of property in any earnings, investments, or bequests made or received after marriage, and in everything she possessed at the time of marriage; thus women in Britain gained more freedom in respect of property than in any continental country. By the end of the century, in spite of the opposition of the Queen, the status of English women of the middle and upper classes was being transformed in a vast number of ways. Young women were going out without chaperons, appearing without male escort or loss of reputation in the restaurants and frequenting the new tearooms which were being opened everywhere to cater for them. They were wearing lighter and less restrictive clothes and were beginning to play gentle outdoor games. A small number of highly educated women were beginning to take their place in professions hitherto reserved for men: there were 212 women doctors of medicine in 1901. A campaign led by Josephine Butler against the white-slave traffic and legalization of prostitution had shown that women could be as adept as men in the arts of democratic political action.

In the Edwardian Age the movement for the emancipation of women reached its height. A whole literature of feminism appeared—in the plays of Ibsen (especially *A Doll's House*) and of Bernard Shaw (especially *Mrs. Warren's Profession*), and in the novels of H. G. Wells (especially *Anne Veronica*). A campaign led by Dr. Marie Stopes to enable women to limit child-bearing by contraceptive devices won its first open success. More and more of

the liberal professions opened their ranks to women, and in the lower ranks of the Civil Service and in commercial offices hundreds of thousands of women found employment. Yet in spite of feminist victories on almost every front, the right to vote was still denied to women.

The movement for women's political rights dates back to 1867, when John Stuart Mill had tried to pass an amendment to the Reform Bill so as to give women the vote. Women won the right to vote for new County Councils in 1888 and to sit on as well as vote for the District and Parish Councils in 1894. A number of societies were formed, and eventually amalgamated in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, to make propaganda for the parliamentary vote, and a great many M.P.s were converted. But neither of the old political parties would adopt the cause officially, and the fact that the Labour Party had taken it up from the first did not make it any less suspect to the other two. Four times before 1906 the Commons passed vague resolutions in favour of the principle of women's suffrage, but it was obvious that they would go no further unless they were pushed. The problem for the suffragists was to find new ways of pushing.

"Suffragettes"

The credit or discredit for finding these new ways must go to Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, who founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. There followed one of the most extraordinary political campaigns in English history. It began in the 1906 election, when the "suffragettes" interrupted meetings with shrill shouts of "Votes for Women!" At one meeting held by Grey the interruptions reached such a height that Miss Christabel Pankhurst and a Miss Kenney were arrested. When they were sentenced to a fine with the alternative of imprisonment, they chose the latter: their cause needed martyrs and two young women behind bars would make a good beginning. In the next three years the suffragettes found other methods of agitation. They held up debates in Parliament by screaming from the Gallery of the House, and sometimes when the attendants came to take

them away they found that the women had chained themselves to the grille. They broke windows and forced entries into the houses of M.P.s. They denounced the King with inappropriate cries of "Czar!" when he appeared in theatres and churches. They set fire to houses, mutilated pictures in the public galleries, and tried to burn the mail in letter-boxes.

In 1912, when all else had failed and a Women's Suffrage Bill had been defeated in the Commons by 222 votes to 208, they devised a new form of martyrdom. Imprisoned suffragettes refused to eat, thus leaving the authorities with the choice between releasing them or letting them starve—in which case their deaths would

THE OPENING OF THE NEW BEDFORD COLLEGE

The opening of the new buildings of Bedford College by Queen Mary on 4 July, 1913, was regarded by many as a symbol of the rapidly changing position of women in Britain. Bedford College had been founded in 1849 to provide a liberal education for women, the first foundation of its kind in the metropolis. The growth and extension of women's colleges in Oxford and Cambridge during the twentieth century have further emphasized the new place in the State which women have taken since 1900.



surely raise a public outcry. The authorities found a third alternative, that of feeding the hunger-strikers by force, but even this degree of violence against women was enough to outrage the public conscience, and in 1913 the Government fell back on a "cat-and-mouse" Act allowing the courts to discharge from prison a woman whose health was endangered by hunger-strike, with the right to re-imprison her without further trial as soon as her health was restored. But this was no good. The suffragette campaign went on and the Government could bring itself neither to suppress it by force nor to end it by giving women the vote. To do the latter would be to yield to illegal violence, which was unthinkable. So the agitation went on until the war of 1914 gave the public other things to think about, and after the war it was possible to grant women the vote on the respectable if impertinent ground that they had earned it by their war-effort.

Starvation Wages

If the women's suffrage held the superficial interest of the public in the years between 1906 and 1914, the standard-of-living question held the deepest interest. A book by Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty, a Study of Town Life* (1901), brought shocking conditions to light. Rowntree's conclusion was that nearly half of the wage-earning class in York had not a sufficient income to satisfy their bare minimum needs. And that city was by no means exceptional: conditions in London and in many of the newer industrial towns were worse. The Manchester labourer might be able to earn nineteen shillings a week compared with the eighteen shillings of the labourer in York, but he would have to pay more than a shilling a week more in rent.

The working people had expected great things of the Liberal Government, but by 1911 they were bitterly disappointed. John Burns, the Socialist Minister at the Local Government Board which was responsible for housing, town-planning and public health, had done next to nothing. Lloyd George, though he had made himself a popular hero over the People's Budget, had achieved only two things of immediate practical value to the working-class: the first was the Trade Boards Act which

affected only a very few workers, and the second was the Old Age Pensions Act which applied to nobody below the age of seventy.

It was a great disappointment to the workers that the bills for insurance against sickness and unemployment which Lloyd George had promised in 1909 were not passed until 1911, and even then these new insurances, profoundly important as they would be, were not what the workers had hoped for. The National Insurance Act of 1911 gave workers sick-pay and free medical treatment in case of illness, and relief at the rate of six or seven shillings a week in the case of unemployment in the more precarious trades such as building and engineering. But these insurances were on the basis of triple contributions by the employees, the employers, and the State; the workers had hoped that they would be non-contributory, like the Old Age pension. They saw the immediate effect of the new Act as a reduction in their wages.

Disenchantment with the Government and with parliamentary action as a means of improving their standard of living had become acute among the workers. In 1909 a legal decision on what was known as the Osborne case debarred Trade Unions from levying a compulsory contribution for political purposes; the unions had to fall back on voluntary levies, and in their appeal for these they got very little response. The workers' disillusionment with politics was shown in the General Election of January, 1910, when the Labour Party lost a quarter of its seats in Parliament. Trade unionists were now in a mood for direct action, and between June, 1911, and May, 1912, there was a wave of strikes of which at least three were serious.

Arson and Rioting

Of all male workers in Britain, the seamen and the dockers were worst treated and seemed to have least likelihood of getting their conditions improved. Had it not been for the organizing work of Ben Tillett and Tom Mann, the conscience of ship-owners and employers might have continued to slumber for another generation. These two agitators brought thirty-six seamen's and dockers' unions together in a National Transport Workers' Federa-



RAILWAY STRIKE, 1911

Working people had expected much from the Liberal Government, but by 1911 disappointment was bitter. Dockers and seamen were the worst treated, but by August the railwaymen were sufficiently roused to strike and show a solidarity that made the redressing of their grievances in the near future a certainty. An incident during the railway strike, pictured above, shows troops being employed to safeguard food supplies.

tion and led its members in a great strike in June, 1911. In the mood of the workers in that torrid summer violence was inevitable. There was arson and rioting in Cardiff, Manchester, and Hull.

Hardly had this storm blown over when the railway workers called a general strike. Two unions of skilled men came out in sympathy with the unskilled-workers' union in August, and again there was violence. In Liverpool, where the military were called in, two men were shot dead and two hundred were injured. The strike was never in fact general, but the railway workers showed a degree of solidarity that made the redressing of their grievances certain in the near future.

The third strike was the most serious and the most successful. The Miners' Federation demanded a national minimum wage, and after bringing a million men out on strike for the first time in history they got it. But conditions in the mines continued to be appalling, and the idea began to spread among the miners that no real improvement could be expected until the mines were "nationalized" and put under the control of the State.

Transport workers, railwaymen, and miners had shown by their organization and combined effort in 1911-12 that they were determined to get their conditions improved. The same could not be said for other bodies of workers whose grievances were almost as acute. Farm labourers were working long hours for wages so low—only ten shillings a week—that it seemed miraculous that their large families could ever be reared. The impetus had gone out of their union movement since the days of Joe Arch in the 1870s, and now farmers had a dozen ways of preventing its revival—the eviction from tied cottages of union members was common in the early twentieth century. Shop-assistants were working longer hours than any other employees, and unionism was making no headway among them. Indeed, the condition of the British working-class as a whole was singularly depressed in what we may call the Edwardian Age. Wages rose a little but prices rose a little more, and the real value of wages in general showed no improvement between 1901 and 1914. It might not have mattered so much if the upper classes had not been so obviously and ostentatiously pros-

perous during that period, and if the astonishing development of applied science had not given people the impression that an age of plenty was at hand.

The most important scientific achievements of the Edwardian Age were the application of two new sources of power, electricity and the petrol-engine, to transport and communications. Electric vehicles and petrol-engined cars had been known at the end of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the twentieth that they came into their own. The London County Council electrified its trams in 1905 and in that same year the Bakerloo and Piccadilly tubes were opened. The age of rapid urban transport had begun. It became possible for workers to live far from their place of employment, travelling long distances to and from factory and office every day. Speculative builders began to

throw up rows of little red-brick houses on the outskirts of the towns, and those who could afford them found their housing conditions improved; but none of these new suburbs was for the poor, and the overcrowding of the slums was not relieved.

Scientific Development

Petrol-power was beginning to make a difference to the lives of the rich, but to the rest it was a menace. The age of the motor-car and the char-à-banc had hardly yet begun, and only the rich could afford private cars. On the narrow, untarred roads of the time motor-cars were a nuisance and a peril to all pedestrians, cyclists, and drivers of horses. It seemed that no useful purpose was served by the motor-car except in the hands of a few medical practitioners. There was a general feeling that the motor was about to make a revolution in transport and that this should be stopped before it led to serious bloodshed. If anyone could have foreseen that in the next generation motor-cars would be killing over 500 people every month on the roads of Britain, the feeling would have been a great deal more acute.

Excitement over scientific development reached a new height in 1912 with the launching of the *Titanic*, a gigantic liner thought to be unsinkable because of the new feats of marine engineering embodied in her structure. The *Titanic* struck an iceberg on her maiden voyage and sank. Wireless telegraphy brought ships to the rescue, but they arrived too late to save more than 733 people from drowning; the casualties numbered 1,635.

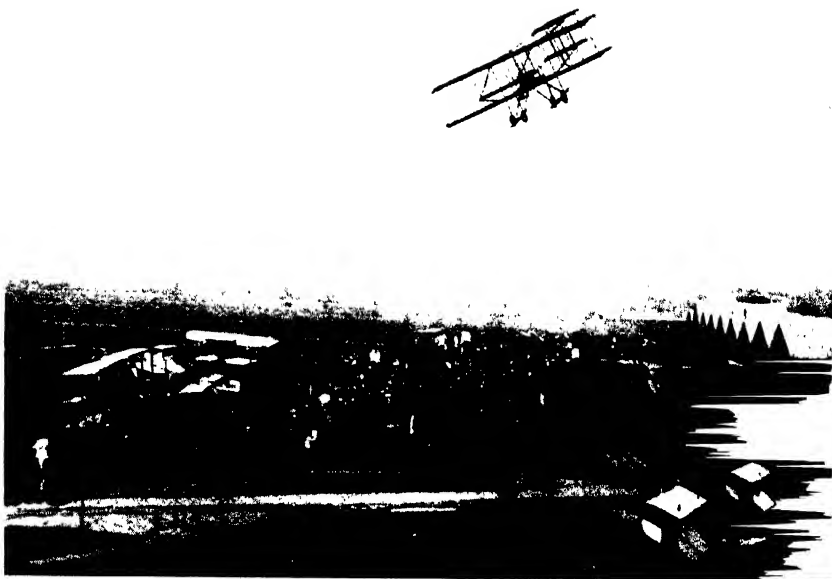
No one at this time foresaw the future of wireless as an entertainment, but the entertainment value of other new scientific inventions was beginning to be realized. Electric theatres were already drawing crowds to silent films of melodrama and custard-pie farce. The first years of the gramophone's popularity synchronized with those of the cinema; people were marvelling at the new His Master's Voice records whose tone was a wonderful improvement on that of any records that had been commonly heard before.

The scientific development of the time which combined all the elements of wonder, menace and entertainment was in aviation.

"THE GRAMOPHONE NUISANCE"

This unusual picture reflects two well-marked tendencies of the Edwardian Age—the growing number of families who lived in flats and the rapidly increasing number of mechanical gadgets which invaded home life. Of the latter the primitive gramophone with its strident tone and large horn was one which caused much disquiet and public indignation, but it sounded the death-knell of the musical evenings which had been such a feature of Victorian life.





A GREAT EVENT OF 1911

The flying age was in its infancy, though it was some years since the first flight had been made. In 1909 the Frenchman Blériot had crossed the Channel in a monoplane, but biplane construction was still the general rule. One of the pioneers of flight in Britain was Claude Grahame-White, who was the first Briton to be given a pilot's certificate and won the famous Gordon-Bennett Aeroplane Race in 1910. Immediately afterwards the army began to take a keen interest in the possibilities of heavier-than-air machines. Here Grahame-White is giving an exhibition of flying before the Army Council at Hendon in 1911. At this time opinion generally favoured the lighter-than-air dirigibles, of which the Zeppelins were to become perhaps the most famous. Not until more than twenty years later would the airship finally give place to the aeroplane.

Overseas flying seemed suicide until July, 1909, when Blériot flew one of the new monoplanes from France to Dover. Even after that aeroplane-flying was considered to be a dangerous form of summer sport, to be confined to flying round courses such as those at Blackpool and Bournemouth. Airships seemed a little less dangerous than heavier-than-air machines, and it still appeared probable that the future of aviation would lie with the dirigible balloon.

A disturbing thing about all these scientific inventions of the early twentieth century was that Englishmen played so little part in them. The aeroplane was invented by Americans and developed by Frenchmen. An Italian counted as the inventor of wireless telegraphy, though Britain took the lead in its development. The pioneer work in motor-cars was done by Germans and Frenchmen, and it was

an American, Henry Ford, who revolutionized their means of production. Electric trains were invented and first developed in America and Germany. Underground electric railways had their origin in the United States. What was more disturbing than the loss of Britain's pioneering reputation was the fact that Britain was at a natural disadvantage in the two new sources of power. The motive force of the nineteenth century had been steam generated from coal, and in coal Britain had an obvious advantage. The motive forces of the twentieth century were to be oil-power and electric-power, and in these Britain was handicapped. The torrents which provided the cheapest way of generating electric-power were lacking, and as for petroleum, there was no oil-field, as far as was known, in any part of the British Empire. In the age of petrol and electricity

Britain would have to work hard to keep her place. Whereas a hundred years ago the new industries had all been pioneered in Britain, now they were being developed first abroad, the motor-car industry in the United States, and the electrical, chemical, and optical industries in Germany.

Yet British people still felt that the future was theirs. Britain was still the most prosperous and the most highly industrialized nation in the world. The new inventions would open up an age of plenty, and Britain would still be in the lead. The only rub was that by 1914 they had benefited the poor people not at all.

The Irish Question

While the attention of the people was focused on the suffragette outrages, the strike movement and the marvels of science, Parliament had little time for anything but the Irish question. The Liberals had promised Home Rule to the Irish and by 1911 it was clear that fulfilment of the promise could not be postponed for much longer. The old excuse that the House of Lords would reject any Home Rule Bill as it had rejected Gladstone's in 1893 carried no weight now that the Parliament Act was on the statute book. The old days of 1906-9 when the Liberals could get on comfortably without the votes of the Irish Nationalist M.P.s were ended by the elections of 1910, which left the Liberals dependent on the vote of the Irish Party if they were to have a comfortable majority. The Irish Nationalist M.P.s had supported the Parliament Act only on the understanding that the Liberals would follow it with a Home Rule Bill. And these M.P.s were no longer the most rabid of the Home-Rulers: the real leaders of the Nationalist movement were unknown men in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Sinn Féin Party, the Gaelic League and the Dublin Labour organizations.

It was a mild enough Bill that the Liberals introduced in the House of Commons in April, 1912. It proposed that there should be an Irish Parliament in Dublin having much the same powers over all Ireland that the Stormont Parliament has over the six northern counties today, and that Irish members should continue to sit, in reduced numbers, in the Imperial

Parliament in Westminster, where the supreme authority would still lie. The Conservatives (they were no longer usually called Unionists) found a way of opposing this Bill which was to be much more dangerous than any they had used in Gladstone's day. They discovered the cause of the "Protestant Province of Ulster." Ulster was not, of course, a Protestant province: Donegal was a Catholic county, so were Monaghan and Cavan, and even in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh the majority of the people were Catholic; but in Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Belfast the majority was Protestant and violently opposed to coming under the rule of a Catholic Parliament in Dublin, especially as Belfast was a larger and richer town than Dublin was. Bonar Law, the Ulster-born Presbyterian who succeeded Balfour as leader of the Conservative Party in 1911, took up the cause of the Ulstermen and actually condoned their threat of using violence to oppose Home Rule. He supported Sir Edward Carson, who was drilling a corps of volunteers to fight against Dublin rule and took the salute at one of their parades. He announced in a speech in July, 1912: "I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go which I shall not be ready to support, and in which they will not be supported by the overwhelming majority of the British people."

Ulstermen Take to Arms

Fortified by this assurance from the Conservative leader, the Ulstermen began to arm. If the Bill went through and put them under a Dublin Parliament they would fight. In January, 1913, it passed its third reading in the Commons by a majority of 110, and although the Lords would throw it out they could not, under the Parliament Act, prevent its becoming law before long. Carson replied by turning the Ulster Volunteers into an army in which one hundred thousand were enrolled before the end of the year. The only way of avoiding civil war must be by compromise: accordingly Asquith proposed an Amending Bill which would allow any Ulster county to vote itself out of the Home Rule Bill for a period of six years—the period was chosen because it was expected that



WOMEN'S DRESS IN THE EDWARDIAN AGE

On the left is Miss B. Thomson playing at Portrush in May 1911. On the right Mrs. Ushton Morrison is seen at Ascot in 1910. Then, as now, the women in the street dressed in a style which was imitative of that set by the fashionable dress designers. Skirts were long, hats large and ostentatious, but the hustle of the Victorian Age had gone for ever—and no one regretted it.

there would be two more General Elections in that time, two chances for Ulster to win over public opinion. But Carson would have none of this proposal, which he damned as "a sentence of death with stay of execution for six years."

There could be nothing for it now but to force the Home Rule Bill on the Ulster Protestants.

At once, however, it appeared that in fact this course might well prove impossible. In March, 1914, Colonel Gough and fifty-seven cavalry officers resigned rather than face the possibility of being sent to fight their friends in Ulster. The Secretary of State for War, Colonel Seely, and the Chief of the General Staff, Sir John French, resigned in sympathy with Colonel Gough. How were the Ulstermen to be made to respect the law except by the British Army? The Catholic Irish had an answer to that. They began forming an army of their own, the Irish Volunteers, in imitation of the Ulster Volunteers. In

April, 1914, the Ulstermen imported forty thousand rifles and one million cartridges from Germany in the course of a single night. The Irish Catholics obviously would see if they could not obtain arms from the same source.

In a last-minute attempt to find a way out of the impasse, George V called a conference of Liberals and Conservatives, Irish Nationalists, and Ulstermen, on 20 July. The conference was a failure. The likely consequences of its breakdown had hardly had time to sink into the minds of Englishmen when news of a dramatic sort came from Ireland. On 26 July the Irish Volunteers landed a cargo of twenty-five thousand German rifles at Howth in broad daylight. Scottish troops sent from Dublin failed to intercept the arms and on their return to the city they were booed by the crowd to such an extent that they lost their heads and fired, killing three people and wounding twenty-seven. War in Ireland seemed a certainty.

Such were the pre-occupations of the British people in the week before they found themselves involved in a war of a totally different nature and of a vastly greater extent.

There had been talk for a whole decade of the possibility of a war with Germany. The general public had heard this talk, had even indulged in it, but had never taken it very seriously. It was all a matter of foreign politics; and foreign politics, as distinct from Irish politics, did not interest the masses.

At the beginning of the century the great continental powers of Europe were divided between rival alliances. Germany was allied with the vast Austro-Hungarian Empire which covered the greater part of East-central Europe; France was allied with Tsarist Russia. Britain remained in isolation, though Joseph Chamberlain had

made a couple of attempts to secure a German alliance. The Boer War showed that isolation might be dangerous to Britain, and in 1904 a move was made in the direction of an understanding with France. It took the form of a bargain over imperial spheres of interest: France would leave Egypt to Britain if Britain would give France a free hand in Morocco. It was not an alliance, only an *entente*, and Britain was not in alliance with France's ally, Russia; on the contrary, we were allied to Japan, who was at war with Russia in 1904-5. But the French *entente* grew closer as the behaviour of the German Government became more provocative. The Germans were building a new navy, and the British people would tolerate no rivals in that arm. In 1905 the Germans began to take an embarrassing interest in Morocco, the Kaiser going so far as to

ASCOT RACES, 1907

In the Edwardian Age the world of fashion was still dominant in its own sphere but the voice of the people was becoming more and more clearly expressed. This dual tendency is well illustrated by the photograph reproduced below of a section of the crowd watching the races at Ascot in June, 1907. The high-hatted morning-dressed "aristocracy" of the middle-class accompanied by their ladies decked out in expensive finery use a row of coaches as an informal grandstand but they no longer have the field to themselves. The representatives of the working man (and working woman, too) are there in close proximity with no one to gainsay their equal right to watch the day's sport.



visit Tangier to assure the Sultan of Morocco that he was "absolutely free." A conference held at Algiers in 1906 settled the Franco-German dispute for a time, but it brought France and Britain nearer together than ever before. In the following year Britain signed a convention with France's ally Russia, cementing it with a division of Persia into two spheres of interest, a Russian sphere in the north and a British sphere in the south. The balance of power in Europe was now maintained by a Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) on one hand and a Triple Entente (France, Russia, and Britain) on the other.

The two danger points between these groupings were in Morocco and the Balkans. The Moroccan crisis which had died down in 1906 flared up again in 1911 when the Germans sent a gunboat to Agadir; the French had to compensate Germany with lands in the Congo for her recognition of French aggrandisement in North Africa. The Balkan crisis was more serious. In 1908 the Austrians annexed the Slav provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina of which they had long been in practical control. The Russians retaliated by taking up the position of saviours of the Slavs and supported Serbia and Bulgaria when they joined Greece in a Balkan League to expel the Turks from Europe. In 1912 they succeeded—Turkey was left with only Constantinople and eastern Thrace—but in the following year the Balkan nations quarrelled over the spoils and started fighting each other. To some of the Austrian leaders this seemed a good opportunity for establishing a protectorate over all the southern Slavs. The Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand went to Bosnia to conduct manoeuvres, and there, in Sarajevo, he was assassinated on 28 June, 1914.

To the British public this seemed nothing

more than another Balkan atrocity: people were always being murdered in the Balkans. To the British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, it looked like war. Austria-Hungary was demanding retribution from the Serbian Government. Russia was preparing to fight for the Serbs. Germany was making it clear that she would fight for Austria. If Germany and Russia went to arms, France would certainly be involved and the whole Continent would be plunged in war. Could Britain stay out of it?

The German Government thought that she could. Having refused Grey's offer of mediation in the Austro-Serbian dispute, the German Chancellor offered, on 30 July, "to make no territorial acquisition at the expense of France," if Britain would remain neutral. But Britain had committed herself, morally if not officially, to fight for France, for in 1907 Grey, without informing any of his Cabinet colleagues except the Prime Minister, had authorized preparations for combined military action. And Britain had committed herself officially, back in 1832, to fight to protect the neutrality of Belgium which it was now obvious that the Germans intended to invade.

Until 2 August, when Germany actually invaded Belgium, Grey had difficulty in persuading the Cabinet that Britain must go to war. On 3 August he expected to have even more difficulty in persuading the House of Commons; only a week before, Asquith had been told that at least half the M.P.s were determined that Britain should not fight. But the violation of Belgian neutrality turned the scale and the Commons gave Grey their vote. At 11.30 on the evening of 4 August, Britain declared war on the German Empire. Perhaps only Grey realized how fateful a die had been cast: "Now," he said, "the lights are going out all over Europe."

Test Yourself

1. In what ways was the early Edwardian Age still Victorian?
2. How would you account for the defeat of the Conservatives (Unionists) in the election of 1906?
3. Describe the origins of the Labour Party.
4. What were the most memorable achievements of the Liberal Government?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

THE British people were dumbfounded to find themselves at war. They had no idea what war would mean. It was nearly a hundred years since their ancestors had been involved in fighting in western Europe, and in the century since Waterloo the wars in which Britain had taken part—in the Crimea, in Afghanistan, in the colonies—had been distant and minor affrays. European war, if it meant anything to the average man, still meant something gallant and glorious, an affair of pitched battles between small professional armies. Above all, it meant something short—as short as the Prussian-Austrian war of 1866, which had lasted seven weeks, or as the Prussian-French war of 1870, in which the fighting was over in a few months. Most people expected this new war to be over in a few weeks.

In a sense they were very nearly right. The German armies swept through Belgium and Luxembourg. The fortress of Liège fell, Brussels fell. The British Expeditionary Force which Haldane had prepared was rushed to France and came into action at Mons, but nothing could hold the advance of the Germans, who were superior in every form of arms. There was a general retreat, the Germans pushing the Allies over the Somme, over the Aisne, over the Marne, until their advanced patrols were within a few miles of Paris. But there the advance was held: the French struck back in the Battle of the Marne and the Germans retired to the line of the Aisne.

The British people had still not awakened to the reality of war. The German lightning-blow had got within an ace of taking Paris in the first five weeks, but it had failed. What would happen now? Most people still expected the war to be over by Christmas. Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, who had been made Secretary for War on 6 August, was saying that the war would last for four years and was making preparations accordingly, but nobody knew what he

meant. The public trusted Kitchener and was ready to idolize him, but such gloomy prophecies could not be taken seriously. The public was in the mood for miracles and rumours: an angel had appeared at Mons to comfort and inspire the British Expeditionary Force; train-loads of Russian soldiers had been seen crossing England "with snow on their boots." The war would be ended miraculously.

In fact, the fighting in 1914 came to an end not with a miracle but with a deadlock. The Germans, foiled in their rush for Paris, turned to a race for the coast, trying to reach Calais, but they were held at Ypres, where the British fought an amazing battle without reserves for seventeen long days and nights in October and November. Then winter set in and the opposing armies dug themselves into trenches. Kitchener had been right; it would be a long war.

Gradually the British public came to realize that this would be a war of a completely new sort. Britain could be attacked from the sea: German warships shelled the Hartlepoons, Scarborough, and Whitby in December, 1914, killing one hundred people. Britain could be attacked from the air: zeppelin airships raided Yarmouth, Cromer, and King's Lynn in January, 1915. The Germans had secret weapons, particularly the U-boats, or submarines, which were torpedoing British merchant-ships and, on 7 May, 1915, sank the giant liner *Lusitania*. The public was inclined to suspect that they had a more insidious secret weapon in the form of an army of spies in England, and an epidemic of spymania set in. Harmless citizens with German-sounding names were denounced to the police, German-owned shops and restaurants had their windows smashed. It was safe for nobody now to have a German name or even German cultural sympathies. Lord Haldane, who had once said that Germany was his spiritual home, was hounded out of office, Prince Louis of



THE PROCLAMATION OF WAR

In spite of the traditional reserve of British people, there was no mistaking the enthusiasm which followed the proclamation of war on 4 August, 1914. Outside the House of Commons the crowd repeatedly cheered the news. Few did not believe that the war would be over in a few months. Informed opinion, sadly, was just as inaccurate. The dominating thought in most people's minds was that the honour of Britain had been vindicated when she decided to go to the aid of "brave little Belgium."

Battenberg was obliged to resign from his post as First Sea Lord, and even the Royal Family thought fit to change its name from Guelf to Windsor. The war was turning into a racial war of British, French, Slavs, and Italians (in May, 1915, Italy was bribed into joining the Allies) against Teutons, who were now commonly and absurdly known as "Huns."

Yet it was a long time before the British people realized that this new sort of war would involve them all. Germany, France and Russia were used to the idea of huge national armies; they took compulsory military service for granted. But Britain had never known conscription, and her armies had never been anything but small; the Kaiser was right in one adjective when he called them "small contemptible bands of mercenaries." There was still no question

of applying conscription to Britain now, but there was a need for volunteers on a scale that had never been imagined before. "Your King and Country Need You" was the slogan on the posters showing the stern eyes of Kitchener and his commanding finger pointing at the reader.

Thousands of men volunteered in the first few days, hundreds of thousands in the first two months. "Kitchener's Army," a force two million strong, was being created out of civilians in hastily assembled camps all over Britain. By May, 1915, when the first units of Kitchener's Army were ready to take the field, Britain was already near to the continental conception of a "nation in arms."

Even the Socialists accepted this conception. Socialists had always regarded war as a capitalist rivalry in which the boss-classes



ANTI-GERMAN RIOTS IN LONDON'S EAST END

By 1915 war hysteria was beginning to make its appearance in London and other large towns. The first flush of enthusiasm had waned. The disastrous course of the war turned patriotic fervour into a deep hatred of Germany and of everything with German associations. By early 1915 to have a German name or connexion, however remote, was to become the object of persecution. In the East End of London anti-German riots, such as the one depicted above in High Street, Poplar, occurred.

dragooned the masses into becoming cannon-fodder in their selfish struggle. The British Labour movement was officially bound by a resolution of the International Socialist Congress (the Second International) which declared that "should war break out, their duty is to intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from their slumbers and hasten the fall of capitalist domination," but the British leaders, especially those in trade unions, ignored this, and like their opposite numbers in Germany and France,

supported the war effort. Only Snowden and Jowett were definitely and openly against it from the beginning. Other leaders were reluctant: Keir Hardie died broken-hearted, torn between loyalty to the nation and loyalty to the international working-class. Others again were defiantly bellicose: the *Clarion* became almost the most militarist paper in England. In the British Labour movement as a whole nationalism triumphed over internationalism, belligerence over pacifism.

Trade Unions Back the War Effort

It was one thing for the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress to proclaim an "industrial truce," ending the strike wave that had been rising between 1911 and 1914 and promising the Labour movement's support for the war, but it was quite another thing to accept the consequences of this. Supporting the war would mean giving up even the right to strike in any circumstances. It would mean waiving the trade-union regulations for which many unions, particularly the engineers', had struggled so long and so hard—waiving the bans against unskilled labour, for instance, so as to allow the "dilution" of the engineers' ranks with a new labour force. The Army and Navy were ill-armed and ill-equipped: there must be a huge recruitment of unskilled men, and even of women, into factories and workshops to produce the uniforms and supplies and, above all, the arms that were so urgently needed. At last the Trade Unions bowed to the inevitable and in July, 1915, dilution of labour and compulsory arbitration of disputes were accepted in all industries concerned with war work, and strikes were forbidden by law.

By this time the Government had been re-organized. It needed a National Government to conduct a national war: in May, 1915, Asquith established a coalition, re-forming his Cabinet so as to include eight Conservatives and one Labour member (Arthur Henderson at the Board of Education) with twelve Liberals. Everyone realized now that the first necessity was to produce more munitions and the second to raise more men for the armed forces. A new Ministry of Munitions was set up under Lloyd George. A new drive was

made to get men to enlist. When every means of indirect pressure had been tried, the Government at last turned to compulsion. In March, 1916, conscription was applied to unmarried men, and in May it was extended to married men. Foreigners could not understand that the British Government should have waited until nearly two years after the outbreak of war before turning to conscription, but the traditional attitude of the British people would have made the step impossible before that. Even after May, 1916, it was recognized that conscience might debar a man from taking part in war. Tribunals were empowered to grant exemption to "conscientious objectors," but it is beyond the power of any human tribunal to judge conscience, and five thousand objectors who were refused exemption preferred imprisonment or forced labour to service in the armed forces.

The re-formed Government did something to restore the confidence of the country, but there was still a great distrust of "politicians," and the only Ministers who really appealed to the masses as competent war-leaders were Kitchener and Lloyd George. When the news came through that Kitchener had been drowned on 6 June, 1916, the public refused to believe it; people found it so unthinkable that the country could get on without Kitchener that they clung to all sorts of rumours about his being still alive. It was with relief that the people heard in December that Lloyd George had become Prime Minister of the Coalition Government. Asquith, who had come to be known as "Wait-and-see," retired. Now, people felt, there would be more drive behind the Government.

Women Take Over Men's Jobs

The people were working as never before, and the whole shape of English society was changing in consequence. The most important change, which was to be permanent, was in the status of women. They were working now at men's jobs in the factories, and not only in the munition works but in almost every type of factory and workshop. They were working in transport—as ticket-collectors, conductors, guards, even as porters. They were working

in the armed forces, where one hundred and fifty thousand women would be serving as Waacs, Wrafs and Wrens before the end of the war. Almost every man's job except fighting, mining, and building was being done by women. The old inequality of the sexes could never be restored after this. Woman's place might still be in the home, but only if she chose it to be. Women's clothes might still include hobble skirts and tight corsets, but only if those should be her whim. The woman's subservience to father and to husband was ended: she had her financial independence now, was free to choose a job, to stay out late, to frequent what society she would. But this freedom was bought at a great price. With so many of her menfolk away, as like as not in the trenches, with the casualty lists mounting on a scale never before known, with new forms of warfare returning survivors maimed in unimagined ways—shell-shocked, gas-poisoned—with year after year passing and the war seeming no nearer its end, the emancipation of women was going side by side with indescribable calamity.

WAR WORK BY WOMEN

The most important of all the social changes brought by the First World War was that it led to women undertaking in factories and elsewhere many jobs previously done only by men. By conferring economic independence it made inevitable women's emancipation. The photograph below was taken in the turning room of a factory engaged in making shell casings.



As the war went on a strange feeling of separation developed between soldiers and civilians. The greater part of the British Army was only a few miles away across the Channel, but between the fighters and the men who stayed at home there was a great gulf fixed. Soldiers returning by leave-trains to Victoria discovered that the civilians had no comprehension of the world in which the troops were living in the trenches; they returned to duty as if to another planet. Workers at home could not understand the lack of sympathy of the workers-in-uniform for their struggle for better industrial conditions. When two hundred thousand miners in South Wales defied the law by going on strike, they felt they were striking a blow for the rights of all workers now and in the future. But to the troops the strike meant that the Navy might be unable to move for lack of fuel. When the Government condoned the breach of law and gave in to most of the miners' demands, the troops felt sore. The civilians were working, enduring, suffering, but they were not at war. This might be the first civilians' war, but it was still not a total

war. Soldiers and civilians were still living in different worlds.

The soldiers' war was a thing of trenches—unending nights in the mud of Flanders, in trench, and dug-out, and shell-hole. It was a war of gunners and sappers and foot-sloggers, a war of shell and rifle-bullet, of Mills bomb and machine-gun round, of men and material in ever-increasing masses, of carnage and casualty on a scale never seen before or since in western Europe. The soldier knew little or nothing of what was happening outside his own sector of the front. If the war had a pattern, if progress was on the whole being made or defeat sustained, it was unknown to him; and perhaps this was just as well, for the shape of things in the first years of trench warfare was anything but satisfactory to the Allies.

Allied Defeats of 1915

In 1915 the Allies suffered defeats on every front. A German attempt to pierce the British line at Ypres in March, when the Germans used poison gas for the first time, failed, but a British offensive at Loos in September had no success, and French attacks at Neuve-Chapelle, Festubert, and Champagne were failures. On the Eastern Front, Serbia was overrun and Russians driven back in Poland and Galicia. The weakest link in the enemy chain seemed to be Turkey, which had rather surprisingly joined the war on the German side. The Allies attacked the Turkish Empire on three fronts in 1915, and everywhere they failed. The Russians were held in the Transcaucasus, the Indian Army was checked in Mesopotamia (Iraq), and the British were driven out of the Gallipoli peninsula. This last disaster was partly the fault of the British Cabinet, which was of a divided mind over the scheme of Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, for an attempt to capture Constantinople. The campaign began with an attempt by the Fleet to pierce the Dardenelles and was followed up by a landing of Australian and New Zealand troops to capture the Gallipoli peninsula. Turkish guns and enteric fever played havoc among the invaders. By December there were one hundred and fifty thousand British dead and one hundred thousand sick, and the

EARLY GAS MASKS

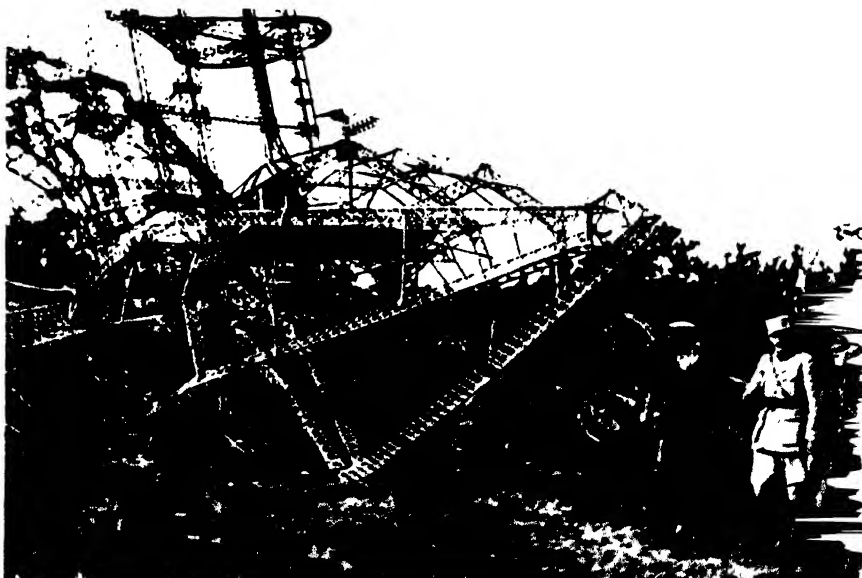
Poison gas was used by the Germans for the first time in March, 1915, but, despite the fact that the unprepared troops in the British front line were temporarily overwhelmed, the German success was local only. Later, when gas masks of a more effective pattern than the primitive ones shown below were available, gas ceased to be an effective tactical weapon.





AERIAL ATTACK BEGINS

Above: A house damaged by a bomb dropped from a Zeppelin on London. Below On the night of 23-24 September, 1916, the German naval airship L33 was shot down not far from Little Wigborough in the neighbourhood of Colchester, Essex. The French Ambassador is seen inspecting wreckage. By comparison with the aeroplane attacks of the Second World War, the Zeppelin raids were insignificant: bombs were few and small and the airships proved vulnerable both to anti-aircraft guns and attack by aeroplane.



order was given to evacuate Gallipoli.

The year 1916 was hardly more successful. Kitchener's two-million army was beginning to come into the line now, and an Allied offensive was expected on the Western Front. The Germans forestalled it by an attack on Verdun, and it was July before the Allied onslaught could be launched, on a front of thirty miles on the Somme.

Four times in only five months the British and French forces attacked, each attack being preceded by air-reconnaissance and offensive by the Royal Flying Corps and by shell-barrage by the Artillery. In the third attack the British used a new weapon, a type of armoured vehicle called the tank, but the number brought into operation, a bare fifty, was too small to have much success. The result of the Battle of the Somme, apart from half a million casualties on either side, was that the Allies advanced their front by between five and seven miles, the Germans retiring eventually to admirably prepared positions known as the Hindenburg Line.

Outside the Western Front the battles of 1916 were no more conclusive. The German High Sea Fleet put to sea and was nearly trapped into an engagement with

the British Grand Fleet—nearly, but not quite: the Germans succeeded in giving the British the slip and in getting back to their ports. Both sides claimed victory in the Battle of Jutland, the Germans on the ground that the British losses were twice as high as theirs, the British because they remained masters of the sea and able to maintain the blockade of Germany. At the opposite end of Europe, Rumania, who had joined the war tardily on the Allied side, was knocked out, a loss which the Allies to some extent countered by forcing Greece to abandon neutrality and to join the war as an ally.

By the end of 1916 the military position was much the same as it had been two years earlier. Neither side had gained anything; each had lost millions of men. To soldiers on both sides it seemed that the war should end in a negotiated peace. But to the belligerent politicians any form of compromise savoured of defeat, and defeat was unthinkable.

When President Wilson of the United States of America, who was trying to act as mediator, sent Colonel House to London to put forward terms which America would support, the British Government insisted that it was for Germany to sue for peace.

THE GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN

Brilliant in conception, disastrous in execution, the Gallipoli campaign has been the subject of bitter controversy. Sir Winston (then Mr.) Churchill, its principal originator, was made the scapegoat for its failure and deprived of his office as First Lord of the Admiralty. It might well have succeeded, had it not been preceded by a naval bombardment which revealed to the Turks the weakness of their defences. The photograph shows troops landing at Anzac Beach in the Dardanelles.





BRITISH BATTLE SQUADRONS AT SEA

The British Navy quickly cleared the seas of German merchant shipping and hunted down the surface raiders. The struggle against the submarines was longer, more bitter, and nearly was won by the U-boats. Capital ships—such as those of the Third and Sixth Battle Squadrons seen above—sought to bring the German Fleet to action. At the Battle of Jutland, British losses exceeded German, but the German Fleet withdrew into harbour leaving the British Navy mistress of the seas. And, once the convoy system had brought an answer to the submarine attack on merchant shipping, mistress of the seas Britain remained to the end of the war. As yet the battleship was the dominant factor in naval warfare: although at Jutland a seaplane was used by the British Fleet for reconnaissance, apparatus still was primitive and its wireless signals were not received by the flagship.

When the German Government replied by offering no concessions beyond the surrender of part of Alsace, the British rejected the German note as "empty and insincere." The war must go on.

The soldiers had almost forgotten what they were fighting for. They knew only that they were fighting and that there was no alternative. On the Western Front in 1917 the carnage reached new heights of horror. A French offensive against the Hindenburg Line failed, and mutiny broke out here and there among the French troops. The collapse of the French Army was saved by a diversionary offensive by the British near Ypres. This Battle of Passchendaele turned out to be a long campaign in the mud

against Germans safely ensconced in concrete pill-boxes, which cost the British three hundred thousand casualties. It seemed that the war would never end.

The twelve months which followed the end of March, 1917, constituted the most critical year in British history. That spring the German submarine campaign reached a new intensity. The continued sinking of neutral American ships was enough to bring the United States into the war, but although the U.S.A. became an "Associated Power" on the side of the Allies on 6 April, it would be a long time before American troops could be trained and brought into the battle-line, and meanwhile Britain might well be starved. In the



IN THE MUD AT BOESINGHE

Taken near Boesinghe in 1917, the photograph shows stretcher-bearers in mud which reaches almost to their knees. It shows how impossible warfare became under winter conditions and explains why most of the principal battles were fought during the comparatively dry months of the spring and early summer.

third week of April submarines sank forty British ships of over sixteen hundred tons. One ship in every four that left British ports in that month was sent to the bottom. By the end of April there was only six-weeks' corn supply left on the island. To the British everything depended on whether the submarine menace could be effectively countered.

New methods were introduced—small airships (blimps) were sent up to spot the submarine from above, warships (Q-ships) were disguised to masquerade as merchantmen until the submarine was within range, fast motor-boats were armed with depth-charges and the convoy-system was extended. By one means and another—chiefly by the courage of British seamen who put to sea again and again after having been torpedoed—Britain kept her lines of communication open and the submarine campaign was weakened. It cost Britain 2,439 ships in the year 1917 alone.

The submarine menace meant short commons for everyone. It meant meatless days and "standard bread" and a shortage of sugar, milk, and butter. The people seemed to be living on lentils, butter-beans, and margarine. There were long queues outside the foodshops and, although cards

for meat were introduced earlier, it was February, 1918, before a proper system of rationing was applied. (Compared with the ration scales of a generation later, the 1918 scale does not seem oppressive: $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of sugar, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of butter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of tea for each person per week.)

Before the end of 1917 the Allies were to suffer three great military disasters. The first was Passchendaele. The second was Caporetto, a battle in which the Italian Army was driven headlong from its Alpine strongholds. The third was the Bolshevik Revolution, which meant that Russia would drop out of the war: the Bolshevik's first action was to conclude an armistice with Germany, and in March, 1918, they signed a separate peace. The Germans were enabled to move some of their best fighting divisions from the Eastern to the Western Front.

The spring offensive which was launched by the Germans on the Western Front in 1918 was the most terrific of the whole war. It broke the British line on the Somme: the British lost one hundred thousand men in one week and retreated thirty miles before they could find a new foothold before Amiens. It broke the sector of the line held by the Portuguese at Armentières. It broke

the French line, and the French retreated right back to the Marne. Everyone was waiting now for the next blow, a blow which would surely be fatal to the Allied cause. But the next blow never came. The Germans were exhausted. Their allies were falling away: the Turkish Empire was collapsing, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was ruined by the defection of its Slav subjects. When Marshal Foch, now in command of all the Allied forces in the west, launched his Western offensive on 18 July, no one, not even Foch himself, expected it to have more than a limited success. No one on the Allied side realized that the last campaign of the war had begun.

In the months that followed, the British armies bore the brunt of the fighting. The French attacked on the Marne, the Americans under General Pershing attacked at St. Mihiel, but it fell to the British to recapture the Somme battlefield and to storm the Hindenburg Line. By the end of September the German leaders knew that they were beaten. The Kaiser admitted that "the war must be ended," Ludendorff lost his nerve, and Hindenburg, the imperturbable Hindenburg, announced that "the gravity of the situation admits of no delay . . . a peace offer to our enemies must be sent at once." On 6 October the offer reached President Wilson in the form of a telegram urging him to bring about an



AN EARLY WARPLANE

The pilot of this Morane monoplane is T. H. Bayetto. Since airmen were comparatively few in number, even when machine-guns replaced the pilot's pistol as offensive armament, duels in the air usually were conducted with chivalry.

HEAVY ARTILLERY IN ACTION

Entrenchments—often strengthened with concrete when time allowed—gave such advantage to the defenders that heavy damage or complete destruction was essential before any advance could be made. Hence both sides concentrated on the production of heavy artillery such as these 9-2-in. howitzers seen at Guillemot on 4 October, 1917, preparing to fire. Shellfire so cut up the terrain that an advance usually was so slow that the defenders could seal the gap in the line before any real break through was possible.



armistice on the basis of the lenient principles which he had promulgated in January—the "Fourteen Points."

This telegram aroused acute disputes among the Allied leaders. Lloyd George and Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, felt that an armistice arranged by Wilson would be too favourable to Germany. Even General Pershing was against signing any armistice until Allied troops had reached Berlin. For four weeks, while the death-roll mounted on the Western Front, the Allied leaders wrangled until at last, when Wilson had threatened to sign a separate peace with Germany, the British and French accepted the Fourteen Points with minor modifications and agreed on armistice terms to be offered to Germany. But even now, on 4 November, when the terms were drawn up and submitted to the Kaiser's Government, it was doubted whether Germany would sign. The Germans were being told that they must surrender their fleet, that Allied forces would occupy the Rhineland, that the blockade would be maintained. If they refused, Foch reckoned that it might take another five months of fighting to drive them across the Rhine. The real state of Germany was still unknown to the Allies. In that first week of November the German

Fleet mutinied, discipline in the armed forces collapsed, and on 9 November revolution broke out in Berlin, sweeping away the Kaiser and the whole Imperial structure of government and replacing it by a republic of moderate Socialists. When the Armistice was signed on November 11, it came as a surprise; it was hard to believe that the war was over.

The Great War, the greatest war in all history, was ended. It had been the First World War and assuredly it would be the last. Britain had fought "to make the world safe for democracy" and already four great tyrannical Empires of Europe had foundered—the Tsarist Empire swept away by revolution, the Turkish Empire fallen in ruins, the Austro-Hungarian Empire split into its component nations, the German Empire given place to a democratic Republic. Britain had fought "a war to end war": the peace that would follow must surely endure, so the public fondly believed, for ever.

The war had changed Britain's place in the world. In 1914, in spite of competition from Germany, Britain had still been the richest nation; by 1918 that position had passed to the United States. The war had precipitated processes which threatened to dry up the sources of Britain's Victorian

TANKS GOING INTO ACTION

The first tanks went into action at Flers on the Somme in September, 1916. At the sight of these mechanical monsters astounded Germans fled or surrendered. Only thirty-one tanks crossed the German trenches at this time so that the tactical possibilities of the tanks could not be exploited. Later at the Battle of Cambrai tanks in large numbers went into action and were largely responsible for a remarkable advance, but use of tanks was not then understood, the break was not exploited and the Germans regained much of the ground. The photograph below was taken on 29 September, 1918, at Bullecourt during the Battle of the St. Quentin Canal. Early tanks carried "cribs" or fascines (bundles made from pieces of stout timber laced together with wire) which were dropped into trenches to help the tanks to cross; later machines—like that pictured—could tackle trenches without aid.





THE "COUPON" ELECTION

In the campaign which preceded the General Election of December, 1918, the stock of Lloyd George, leader of the war-winning Coalition Government, stood so high that his recommendation ("coupon") was of itself almost enough to ensure a candidate's election. The scene above shows the mother of a family voting: in this election for the first time the franchise was extended to women over thirty years of age.

and Edwardian prosperity. Britain had been the workshop of the world, but during the war overseas nations, deprived of British exports, had learned to manufacture industrial goods for themselves: the old demand for British textiles and machinery was not likely to revive now that so many peoples, from Canada to India, were setting up their own factories. Britain had been the world's carrier, but now that export trade was sinking there were fewer cargoes for British ships to carry, and anyhow the British shipping had been decimated by war while neutral countries like

Norway had built great mercantile fleets. Britain had been the world's banker, the world's money-lender, but now the financial centre of the world had shifted from London to New York.

These changes would set British statesmen their major problems in the post-war decades.

At the end of 1918, however, few people realized that such problems even existed. The war had been won, and that for a time was enough. The only question now was how quickly one could return again to the palmy days of peace.

Test Yourself

1. Estimate the importance of British sea power in the First World War.
2. Why have the twelve months between the spring of 1917 and that of 1918 been called "the crucial year"?
3. Account for the changed economic position of England after the war.

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

BRITAIN IN TRANSFORMATION

THE years between 1919 and 1939 have come to be known as the between-war age, but that was not, of course, the way in which people thought of them at the time. To the average Briton living through them, those two uneasy decades of peace seemed a time of transformation in which things were moving and changing more rapidly than ever before, though in what direction they were moving and what would be the nature of the change he did not know.

No sooner was the Armistice signed than the nation was plunged into preparations for a General Election. Lloyd George would have to go to Paris to take part in the conference which would make the peace settlement, and before he went he wanted to make sure that he would have the country behind him. This was not difficult: he was the man who had led Britain to victory, and he had only to give a candidate his support—his “coupon” it was called—to make sure, or nearly sure, of his being elected. It was a coupon-election, not a party struggle; the supporters of the Lloyd George Coalition were of all parties. The mood of the people, fanned by Northcliffe in *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and the whole chain of Harmsworth-family papers, turned out to be unusually irresponsible. Revenge on Germany was all they seemed to care about. Lloyd George gave way to the popular mood, and in his eve-of-poll posters the slogans were “Hang the Kaiser” and “Make Germany Pay.” The election results were a triumph for Lloyd George; only twenty-seven non-coupon Liberals and sixty-three Labour Members were returned to Parliament to oppose his coalition.

With this Parliament, Lloyd George had no chance of going back on his pledge to “exact the last penny we can get out of Germany to the limit of her capacity.” The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 turned into a duel between Clemenceau, who wanted

so to weaken Germany that she could never rise again, and President Wilson, who wanted to re-incorporate her into the body politic of the world as a pacific and uncrippled nation. Lloyd George was nearer to Wilson's views in principle, but he could not refuse Clemenceau's demands for vindictive reparations because of his election pledges. By the Treaty of Versailles which Germany signed in June, 1919, Germany was obliged to pay £1,000 million by May 1921, as the first instalment of reparations, the total sum of which would be decided later. For the rest, Germany was disarmed—deprived of her navy, air force and artillery, and bound to limit her army to one hundred thousand men. Her industrial capacity was restricted by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and of the coal of the Saar which was to go to France until a plebiscite in 1921. Her territory was cut down by the loss of the Polish-speaking provinces of the “Corridor” which became part of resuscitated Poland, of Danzig which became a Free City under the new League of Nations, and of all her colonies which were to be divided among the victorious Powers who would administer them as Mandated Territories for the League. Her ships were handed over to the Allies, her navigable rivers were put under international control. The Rhineland was to be under Allied occupation for a minimum period of fifteen years, and after that it was never to be re-militarized by Germany. There seems no doubt that if the terms of this treaty had been enforced the Germans could not have made a war of aggression again.

In the treaties with Austria and Hungary, President Wilson's principle of self-determination—“that all well-defined national minorities shall determine the form of government under which they will live”—was applied on the whole fairly and fully. The Allies recognized the new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugo-



FASHION IN 1923

In the height of fashion prevailing immediately after the First World War designers sought to give expression to women's newly won emancipation by making their figures appear flat and boy-like. The tight cloche hat became an almost universal feature of attire.

slavia, and Austria and Hungary became two small homogeneous republics, the former burdened with the large city of Vienna, once capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and now disproportionate to the territory remaining to the State.

In the treaty with Turkey the principle of self-determination was forgotten. The Turks surrendered their Arabian Empire, but the Arab peoples were refused self-government and put under Allied Mandates, France taking charge of Syria and Lebanon and Britain of Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq. This would lay up trouble for the future, but the Treaty of Sévres meant immediate trouble with the Turks. It demanded that Turkey should give up the Constantinople area to an Allied Commission, Adalia to Italy, and Smyrna to Greece. When the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal rebelled against this, Lloyd George encouraged the Greeks to make war against Turkey.

In the Peace Settlement of 1919 Russia had no part. The Bolshevik Government was then fighting for its life against the

anti-Communist elements in Russia, who were being assisted by small armed forces and military missions from Britain, France, the United States and Japan. Many members of the British Government, Winston Churchill among them, would have liked to increase these forces so as to make the destruction of Bolshevism certain, but the British people were in no mood for further fighting, and one section of them—the most Socialist element in the Trade Unions—was in sympathy with the Bolsheviks and was against sending supplies, let alone men, to assist their enemies. By mid-October, 1919, the British forces were withdrawn and the Bolsheviks were established in the saddle. Russia lost the western fringe of her old Empire (the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Poles broke away and formed independent States) and was cut off from Europe. The Bolsheviks were preaching and trying to ferment "world revolution," and so long as that was their policy there could be no friendly relations between Russia and the capitalist States.



OPENING THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

This photograph was taken in 1921 when King George V opened the Parliament of Northern Ireland. While peace, pomp and ceremony prevailed in the north, the south was torn by feuds and fighting. A rising in Dublin in 1916 led to some weeks of fighting before the revolt was suppressed. In 1922 the Irish Free State became a British Dominion. Extreme nationalists refused to recognize the partition of Ireland and civil war broke out again, to end in the eventual victory for those accepting Dominion status.

Even when the treaties had been signed and intervention in Russia abandoned, Britain was still not at peace. There was war in Ireland. The movement for Irish Home Rule, so long frustrated, had turned into a movement for complete Irish independence. In 1916 a rising in Dublin had held out against the British for a week, and although all its leaders—except Eamonn de Valera, who held United States citizenship—were executed, the spirit behind it lived on. Irish nationalists were demanding a Republic, and when so many nationalities in Europe had been granted self-determination it seemed unreasonable to refuse it to the Irish. But Lloyd George would not have his hand forced. He sent sixty thousand regular soldiers to Ireland and recruited a special force of "Black and Tans" from among the demobilized troops to strengthen the regular police. A wretched war of ambush and sniping, reprisal and counter-reprisal broke out and lasted through 1919, 1920, and the first part of 1921. Then Lloyd George opened negotiations with the Irish Republican emissaries. They accepted a form of Dominion status for Ireland, that is, the same degree of independence as Canada had, for an Irish Free State which would include all the island except the six northern counties. But de Valera, the President of the Irish National Parliament, repudiated this agreement, and civil war followed between the extreme nationalists and their ex-colleagues who accepted the Free State compromise. In the end the Free Staters won and Ireland became a self-governing Dominion, except for the six northern counties which remained, with a degree of local self-government, under the Westminster Parliament. The Irish Settlement of 1922 marked the beginning of peace for Britain.

Problems of Demobilization

At home the transition to peace was more difficult than anyone had imagined it could be. The first problem was to demobilize four million men from the armed forces and to fit them in to peacetime employment. All the carefully laid plans for gradual demobilization were swept aside by the determination of the soldiers to get out of uniform at once. In January,

1919, there were riots in the camps at Folkestone, Dover and elsewhere, and soon men were being released from service at the rate of fifty thousand a day. Industrial workers were appalled by this rush of men on to the labour market. Surely wages would be forced down? Surely there would be unemployment? But employers were not sorry. There was a boom in industry and commerce. Everywhere buyers were clamouring for the goods of which they had been deprived during the years of privation. A cry was raised for the lifting of wartime restrictions; it was taken up by the new House of Commons—"the wealthiest, the least intelligent, and the least representative since Waterloo," it has been called, "a collection of hard-faced men who looked as though they had done well out of the war." One by one the instruments of Government-control were thrown away. The Food Control and Shipping Control Departments and the Ministry of Munitions under its new title of Ministry of Supply were closed down in 1919, the railways were restored to private companies, and even the coal-mines were back in private hands early in 1921. The country's mottoes were "Business as Usual" and "Back to 1914."

Post-war Boom

At first it seemed that private enterprise and the abolition of controls were indeed the right way of taking advantage of the boom. Most of the million demobilized soldiers were absorbed in civilian employment. Wages were rising: at the time of the Armistice they were nearly 100 per cent above the level of 1914, but by the end of 1920 they were between 170 and 180 per cent above. The fact that the cost of living was rising almost commensurately did not remove the workers' feeling that they were doing well. Employers and investors, of course, were doing incomparably better. Fantastic profits were made on the sellers' market of the first post-war years, and the Government's anti-profiteering Act of 1919 had no effect in restraining them. When the wholesale prices were rising, as they did between 1918 and 1920, from 135 per cent to 225 per cent above pre-war level, it was hard for anyone not to make big profits.

Suddenly the boom came to an end. British people could hardly believe their eyes when they saw the unemployment figures for December, 1920—858,000 registered workers were unemployed. Two months later the figure was 1,213,000. In March, 1921, it reached 1,664,000. What had happened? The post-war boom had worked itself out: the pent-up wartime demands on the part of the people with money to spare had been satisfied. But there was more behind it than that. The war had left Britain poorer, with many of her old sources of income reduced, perhaps permanently reduced. It had left her industries out of date in equipment and organization. The chance of re-equipping and reorganizing them which existed so long as industry and transport were under Government control was lost when they were put back into private hands. With the comparatively high British standard of living and comparatively inefficient industrial methods, Britain's goods were bound to be expensive; it would be hard task to find markets for them.

Slump

The slump, everyone thought, would pass. What nobody realized was that it would not pass of itself. The unemployment figure would never sink below a million until the devil of another war would find an evil thing for idle hands to do.

All that Lloyd George's Government did in 1920 and 1921 was to take an axe to expenditure, thereby increasing unemployment, to pass a Safeguarding of Industries Act taxing foreign goods that had been "dumped" in England at prices below their cost of production, and protecting by tariffs "industries indispensable in the event of another war," and to extend the National Insurance Act of 1911 to eight million additional workers. The Unemployment Insurance Fund was now empowered to borrow money from the Exchequer, and unemployment benefit was raised to fifteen shillings a week for men and fourteen shillings for women, drawable during a maximum of fifteen weeks in the year, after which the out-of-work might beg for an "uncovenanted benefit" or "dole" from the Ministry of Labour. This saved the unemployed from starvation and the

country from riots, but it did nothing to find a way out of the slump. Some of the trade-union leaders believed that the only way out lay in nationalization: if the State would take over industry and transport, equipment could be renewed, organization rationalized, and prices reduced without recourse to the reduction of wages, which was the last thing that any employed worker would tolerate.

Wage Cut Resisted

In the boom of the first postwar year or two it had been easy for employers to raise wages in answer to strikers' demands, but once the slump set in that was out of the question. The mine-owners announced a cut in wages, and when the miners refused to accept it they locked them out. The Miners' Union appealed to the railwaymen and transport workers to support them in a sympathetic strike in April, 1921, and the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party promised support. But something went wrong: at the last minute, on "Black Friday," the railwaymen and transport workers backed out. Black Friday was followed by a general fall in wages and by a drop in trade-union membership by millions.

The miners were left to carry on their struggle alone. They had long been agitating for shorter hours, higher pay and the nationalization of the mines. A Royal Commission under Mr. Justice Sankey had reported in favour of them all, but its members were not unanimous, and although the majority was in favour of nationalization and Lloyd George himself had condemned "the present system of ownership," the Government refused to accept the majority report and nothing was done about reorganizing the coal industry.

The slump of 1920-22, the Hunger Marches of the unemployed, and the rising tide of trade-union discontent would have been enough to unseat any Ministry that had not got such an overwhelming majority in Parliament as Lloyd George's Government had won in the coupon-election of December, 1918. In the end it was his Conservative allies who unseated Lloyd George. They were sick of the Coalition and alarmed by the vagaries of its leader. His compromise—or was it capitulation?



RADIO IN THE HOME

The twentieth century has seen an immense increase in the forms of entertainment. This increase began with the invention of the cinema, continued with the gramophone and radio. Later television provided yet another important addition. Radio began as an affair of crystal, cat's-whisker and ear-phones on which morse could at times be heard. With the coming of transmission of telephony the crystal set entered the home and very soon the hampering ear-phone was replaced by the loud-speaker. In this picture, taken in 1923, one of the early valve receivers is in use. At first the quality of the reproduction by loud-speakers was so poor that many preferred ear-phones, but improvements were not long in coming.

—over Ireland disgusted them, though they can hardly have imagined that a Conservative Government could have done any better. His off-hand policy in the Middle East, where the Greeks were being defeated, and Britain was on the verge of being dragged into a new war against Turkey, gave them the excuse for withdrawing their support. Lloyd George resigned in October, 1922, and with his resignation a period came to an end. Ever since 1909 he had dominated the political scene. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Minister of Munitions, since 1917 as Prime Minister, in the crisis of war and in the crisis of peace settlement, he had led the country and dominated the Cabinet as no one had done since Gladstone's day. Responsibility for the vast disappointment of the after-war settlement which was no settlement at

all could be laid on his shoulders. He resigned and the Conservatives came into power, first under Bonar Law and then under Stanley Baldwin. If it could have been known that England would not see another statesman of Lloyd George's stature for nearly eighteen years, his services would not have been dispensed with so easily.

A feeling that some great opportunity for peace settlement had been lost by Lloyd George led, in the General Election which followed his resignation in 1922, to a loss of seats for the Liberals who had supported his Coalition. Only 55 Coalition-Liberals were returned to Parliament; the anti-Coalition Liberals won 60 seats, the Labour Party 144, and the Conservatives had a majority of 72 over all other parties combined. But there was little that the

new Conservative Government could do. Britain was in debt, and the debt could not be paid until the nations which owed money to Britain had paid her. This meant that reparation must somehow be extracted from Germany. But how? The Germans could clearly not pay the £6,000 million which was the total at which her liability had finally, in 1921, been set. When they fell short of their scheduled deliveries in 1923 the French Government sent an army to occupy the Ruhr, to punish them. The result of this, as the British Government had predicted, was to make Germany bankrupt and able to pay even less than before.

How then could Britain pay the £1,000 million which she owed to the United States? It was no use asking the Americans to write this sum off as their contribution to the war-effort. All that Baldwin could get from Washington was an agreement that the payment of interest and sinking-fund should be spread over sixty-two years.

Labour Government in Office

If the Conservatives could not find a way out of the debt-tangle, they thought that they knew at least a solution for the problem of unemployment. It lay in Joseph Chamberlain's old policy of Tariff Reform, or anyhow in some new version of it which would protect home industries against foreign manufactured goods. The difficulty was that at the last election they had promised not to introduce Protection; the only thing for it was, therefore, to go to the country again, explaining that they had changed their mind and were asking for a protectionist mandate. This the electorate refused: it showed that it was hardly more inclined to abandon Free Trade in November, 1923, than it had been in 1905.

The results were 192 Labour Members and 157 Liberals against 258 Conservatives, the Free Trade parties thus having a combined majority of 91 over the Protectionists. A Labour Government came into office, led by Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

It was a shock to find Britain under a proletarian government. MacDonald had been brought up on a Scottish croft. The Home Secretary, J. R. Clynes; the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden; the Secretary for the Colonies, J. H. Thomas; the Minister of Health, John Wheatley; the President of the Board of Education, Arthur Henderson, were all from working-class homes, and none of them except Henderson had any experience of governing. MacDonald brought some former Liberals into his Cabinet—Haldane, Wedgwood, Noel Buxton, and Charles Trevelyan—but even that could not allay the fear of one section of the population and the hope of another that revolutionary legislation lay ahead. In fact there could be nothing revolutionary even if the Cabinet had wanted it. The Labour Government was dependent for its majority on the vote of the Liberals under Asquith, and the Liberals would stand for no socialism at any price.

The Labour Government had to be content with minor reforms. It raised the old-age pension rate, it restored the minimum legal wage for farm labourers, it removed the axe from expenditure on social services.

The only really memorable piece of legislation it put through was Wheatley's Housing Act. If there was one postwar shortage that was more acute than any other in slum-ridden Britain it was the shortage of houses. Although many new houses had been built since 1918, few of them were within the means of the working-class. The new Act increased subsidies to local government authorities for building houses at low rents; it was expected that two and a half million working-class dwellings could be put up by this means in fifty years. Wheatley's Act probably had more effect on the lives of the British people than any other piece of legislation in the between-war years.

Rehabilitating Germany

It was not, however, on the domestic policy of the first Labour Government that the eyes of the people were focused. MacDonald had plans for relieving unemployment by reviving Britain's trade with Germany and Russia. The anti-German feeling of the British public was dying down; there was no more talk of hanging the Kaiser, and it was realized that if Germany was to pay she must first



THE WEMBLEY EXHIBITION, 1924

The Wembley Exhibition, opened in 1923 and re-opened for another season in the following year, was designed as an exhibition of the crafts and wealth of the Empire. It was intended to mark the great resurgence of industry throughout the world which had followed the end of hostilities in 1918. A sports stadium capable of holding 100,000 spectators was built at the same time, and is now best known as the neutral ground on which the Association Football Cup Final is played. The exhibition resulted in financial loss but was a great success in enhancing the prestige of British industry. The Fun Fair, a part of which is pictured above, was a popular attraction, as it was at the Festival of Britain in 1951.

be made capable of paying. An international committee under the chairmanship of a Chicago banker, Charles G. Dawes, drew up a new reparations plan under which German industry was to be given an immediate loan of eight hundred million gold marks. Once German industries were on their feet again it should be possible for reparations to be paid on a big scale, rising to two thousand five hundred million marks a year by 1929. MacDonald was fortunate in having a new Radical Government in France under Herriot to work with him for a genuine peace settlement with Germany. They were treating Germany no longer as a defeated aggressor beyond the pale of civilized international society, but as a fellow-nation which they hoped to bring into the polity of Europe.

The foundations for the Locarno treaties and for Germany's membership of the League of Nations were laid during the period of office of MacDonald's ministry.

It was MacDonald's policy to bring Soviet Russia, too, into the comity of European nations. He gave formal diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Government and opened negotiations for a treaty. If this treaty was to open trade with Russia it must include a British loan to the Soviet Government. MacDonald first declared that Britain would in no circumstances guarantee a loan, then changed his mind and announced that a loan would be guaranteed. The confusion was increased by the Labour Government's attitude towards communism at home: the

Attorney-General prosecuted a Communist editor, J. R. Campbell, and then, in face of a popular outcry against this limitation of the right of free speech, withdrew the suit. The upshot was that the Government was defeated on a vote of censure and MacDonald appealed to the country.

The Zinoviev Letter

The election that followed was known as the Red Letter election. The Foreign Office published, presumably with MacDonald's permission, a letter apparently signed by Zinoviev, the head of the Communist (or Third) International, urging the British Communists to take control of the Labour movements. The letter was dated 24 October, and the British public could not understand how MacDonald's Government could have contemplated a loan to Moscow when it knew that the Russians were interfering in British politics in this way. A wave of anti-Bolshevik feeling swept the country and the electorate turned to conservatism: 413 Conservatives, 118 Liberals, and only 151 Labour members were returned to Parliament.

Returning to office after the twelve-months' Labour interlude, the Conservatives found themselves in a difficult position. They did not know what they could do to lift the country out of the slump. A policy of wholesale Protection was barred by public opinion; they had not dared to advocate it at the last election. The only way of restoring Britain's pre-war prosperity that they could see was to build up the banking business of the City of London. Banking depends on confidence, and if foreigners were to have confidence in the City they must know that the pound sterling would have a stable value. If Britain stabilized the pound it might be expected that the other countries would stabilize their currencies, in which case there would be a revival of international trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill (he was no longer a Liberal; he had returned to the Conservative fold), therefore announced in April, 1925, that Britain would return to the Gold Standard and that the Bank of England would give gold at the pre-war rates in return for notes.

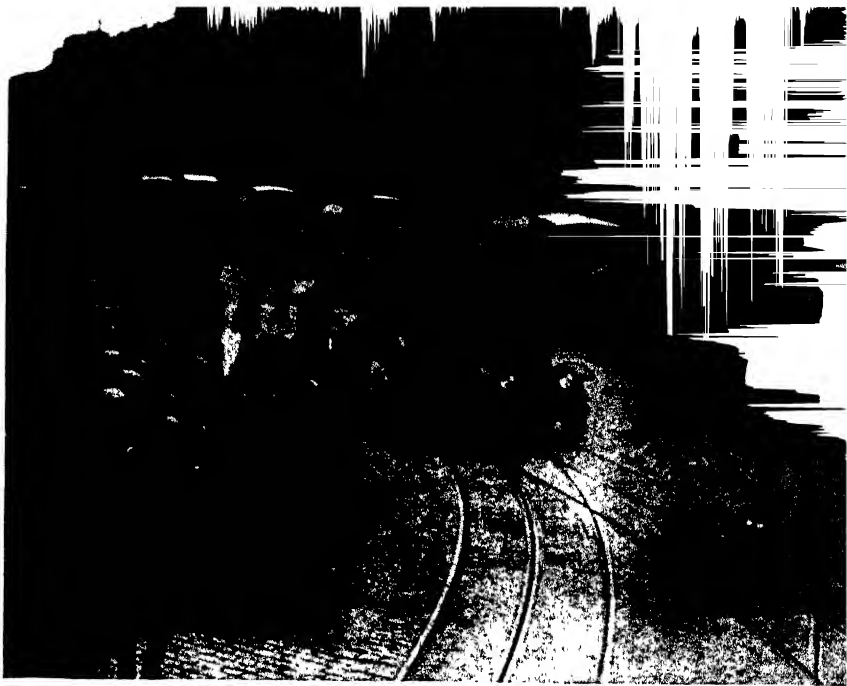
This was no doubt of great advantage

to the banking business of the City, but it dealt a severe blow to British exporting industries, for it meant in effect that foreigners would have to pay 10 per cent more for British goods. The British exporters would have to lower their prices if they were to keep their markets, and the easiest way of lowering prices was to cut wages. Baldwin himself admitted that "all workers in this country have got to take reductions in wages." The mine-owners, therefore, felt abundantly justified in announcing that a cut in miners' wages would begin in July, 1925.

Trade Unions Support the Miners

The miners' reply to this was an uncompromising refusal, and their fellow-unionists, especially the railwaymen and the transport-workers, declared their intention of supporting them. It was a critical situation and the Government decided to play for time. Baldwin gave a nine-months' subsidy to the coal-owners to enable them to keep up the existing standard of wages and set up a Royal Commission under Sir Herbert Samuel (later Lord Samuel) to report on the re-organization of the industry. But when the nine months had passed the crisis was no nearer a solution. The Royal Commission had reported that the coal industry should be nationalized, that mine-owners' royalties and miners' wages should be reduced. The Government had taken no notice of this except on the last point: miners' wages would be cut by half a crown in the pound. The Miners' Union, of course, refused and the Trades Union Congress supported their refusal. There would be a general sympathetic strike beginning at midnight on 3 May unless the cuts were withdrawn.

It is hard to believe that the leaders on either side realized what a General Strike must mean. The Trade Union leaders did not want violence or revolution, but what else was likely to follow when all industry and transport would be at a standstill, when food could not be distributed, when starvation began to set in? The Government had prepared a few emergency services, but it must have thought that the Union leaders were bluffing or that the Union members would not in fact obey the strike notices, for there was actually



THE GENERAL STRIKE:

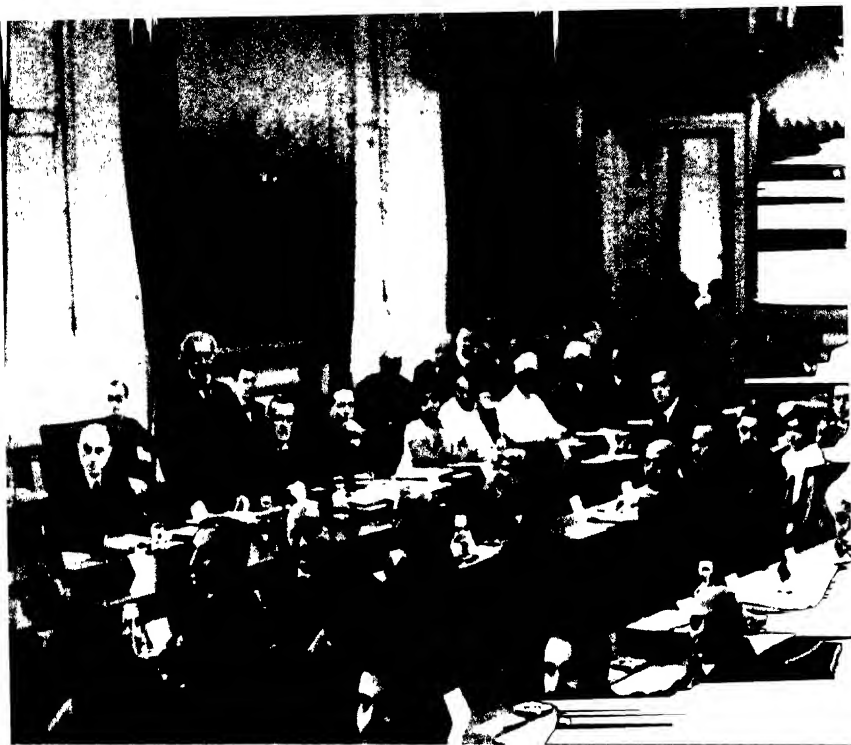
An armoured car is escorting petrol wagons through Aldgate, London, during the General Strike of 1926. This strike, the first and last of its kind, is often said to mark the turning point in relations between capital and labour. It was provoked by a dispute in the coal industry and was designed to compel the Government to intervene and enforce on the employers the acceptance of terms in the coal industry favourable to the workers. Although at first the response to the unions' demand to cease work was good, the Government declared the strike illegal and took active steps to break it. An ever-quickenng return to work was followed by the calling off of the strike after nine days. That such a challenge to the authority of the Government—in some countries it might have amounted to rebellion—could pass without bloodshed and with a minimum of violence, astonished the world.

nothing that it could do to save itself from overthrow and the country from ruin if the workers struck in force and maintained their strike.

When the morning of Monday, 4 May, came it was clear that the workers were solidly behind the strike. There were no trains running, no trams or buses. The docks were silent, the factories empty. There were no newspapers, except the Government's *British Gazette*. It was not literally a general strike—the Trades Union Congress had insisted that workers in certain essential services such as sanitation and lighting should stay at work—but before long two and a half million workers

were striking. The country was at a standstill.

In the next few days a situation developed which in any other country would have meant class-war. Volunteers from the middle- and upper-classes flocked to man the transport services: undergraduates, retired colonels, gentry of all ages and callings turned up to unload foodships at the docks, to drive trains, trams, buses, and lorries. The extraordinary thing was that these strike-breakers were rarely molested. The strikers watched them good-humouredly; they knew that these amateurs could never run Britain's transport. There was vituperation here and there, but on the



INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

This photograph was taken at the Plenary Session of the Indian Round Table Conference held in St. James's Palace in November, 1930. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is seen standing; on his left is Mr. Baldwin and at the same table can be seen Mrs. Naidu and Mahatma Gandhi. This conference was one of many steps on the road to self-government which led to the voluntary ending of the British Raj in 1948.

whole the crisis was played out with a good nature that resembled a sports contest rather than a class-war. What would have happened if the strike had gone on we shall never know. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress was anxious to call it off.

They were provided with an excuse in a compromise memorandum by Sir Herbert Samuel which might or might not be accepted by the Government. They had the opinion of Sir John Simon (later Lord Simon) that every strike leader was liable to damages "to the utmost farthing of his possessions," and of Mr. Justice Astbury that the strike was "illegal and contrary to law." On 12 May they called the strike off. The nine-days' wonder was over.

The Great Strike settled nothing at all. The miners, deserted by their fellow-unionists, stayed out of work for another seven months before capitulating and accepting the wage-cuts. The Government did nothing about re-organizing the coal industry on which Britain's wealth depended more than on any other. It concentrated its attention on preventing a repetition of 1926 by passing a Trades Disputes Act forbidding general and sympathetic strikes in future, making a crime of picketing that could be construed as intimidation, and barring the unions of civil servants from membership of the Trades Union Congress and of the Labour Party. The Trade Unions had been beaten and their membership declined. Unemployment went on,

especially in the great exporting industries, to the extent of a million and more registered workers out of a job.

If domestic politics were dreary and unconstructive in the first post-war decade, the picture is more heartening when we look at the developments overseas. Foreigners had expected the British Empire to crack under the strain of war, but millions of men from the colonies and the dominions had fought with the mother-country, and the Empire had ended the war more united in loyalty than it had been at the beginning. But the British Empire had developed into something unlike any other Empire that had been known in history. The relationship between the mother country and the colonies which were ruled from London was more or less conventional, but that between Britain and the Dominions was not. The Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—were self-governing States, independent for all practical purposes. Imperial Conferences meeting in 1923, 1926, and 1930 discussed this relationship, and a definition was laid down in the Statute of Westminster of 1931 which repeated in its preamble a sentence from a memorandum which Balfour had submitted to the Conference of 1926: "Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Misunderstanding in India

The Commonwealth relationship—a free association of autonomous communities—was not new. It had existed before the war; only the definition and the term Commonwealth were new. But between Britain and India a new relationship was necessary. India's war-effort had proved that the time had come to extend self-government to India. In August, 1917, the Secretary of State, E. J. Montague, declared that "the policy of His Majesty's Government is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the

realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Indian nationalists took this to mean that India would shortly be granted the status of a Dominion. To the British it meant merely that there would be "gradual development." Each step taken toward granting self-government to India during the next generation was resented by the Nationalists as being too little and too late.

When in 1919 a series of reforms set up a system of divided rule, or diarchy, allowing Indians on the Councils of the Provinces to control such matters as agriculture, education, and public health, the Nationalist Congress Party refused to co-operate. When in 1935 the British Government passed an Act setting up a new constitution under which India could become a federal State under a Government of Indians responsible to an elected parliament, Congress again was dissatisfied because Britain would keep control of finance, foreign policy, and defence. Yet the "gradual development" was not slow in the years between the wars. Britain was changing her attitude toward subject people, recognizing that they had the right to self-government and that she had a duty to prepare and train them for it.

Mandated Territories

This attitude was the basis of the mandates which Britain accepted for Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine after the First World War. Iraq was recognized in 1927 as an independent State in special treaty-relations with Britain. Transjordan was granted self-government under the Amir Abdulla in 1924, though it was to be 1946 before it became an independent State. In Palestine the British policy was to build up a combined nation of Jews and Arabs, but the increasingly bitter rivalry of the two communities made this impossible. A Royal Commission admitted the impossibility in 1937 and recommended that Palestine should be partitioned into two States, one Jewish and one Arab, but neither side would accept the partition and the British were not inclined to impose it by force.

The process of converting the British Empire into a family of self-governing

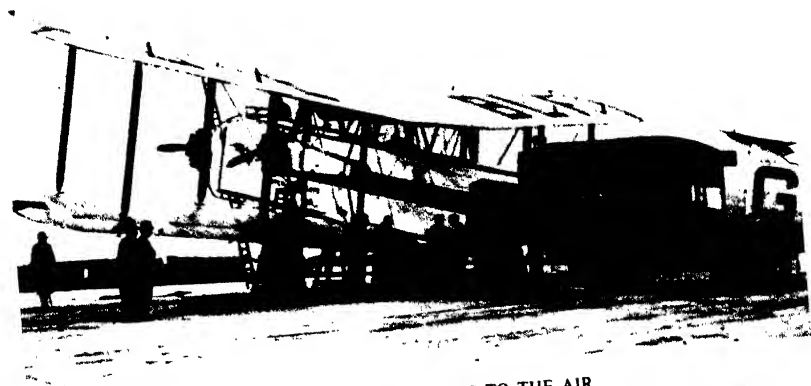
communities was bound to be a slow one. In Africa, for instance, there was only one of all the British colonies and protectorates which was fit, even in the eyes of its own people, to govern itself. Egypt had been made a British protectorate in 1914, but in 1922 it was recognized as a "Sovereign, Independent State," subject to certain reservations which included Britain's right to secure her imperial communications and to administer the Sudan jointly with the Egyptian Government—reservations which did not satisfy the Nationalist (Wafd) Party in Egypt. Elsewhere in Africa, where the natives were of a lower standard of civilization and where there could be no question of their forming independent States, the British policy tended towards "Indirect Rule," a system, first applied to Nigeria and later in Uganda, which left the native chieftains to administer the laws subject to supervision by British advisers.

Few people at home in Britain were interested in the revolutionary changes that were coming over the Empire. The eyes of the British people, if they turned overseas at all in the post-war decade, saw no farther than Europe, and the scene presented by that continent, especially

between 1924 and 1929, was a satisfactory one. Germany was a democratic, ostensibly pacific republic, with her trade and industry reviving thanks to the reformation of the currency and the foreign loans which followed the Dawes Plan. A conference at Locarno in 1925 made peace seem a reality at last. The German Government was represented, not as a defeated or ex-enemy power, but as an equal. Britain signed treaties guaranteeing France against future attacks by Germans, and Germany against future attacks by France. Germany was invited to become a member of the League of Nations and was promised a permanent seat on the League Council. In eastern and central Europe the new States had all found their feet and their people were enjoying more democratic forms of government and higher standards of living than their ancestors had ever known. The Soviet Union was abandoning the policy of "world revolution" and was settling down to raising its internal standard of living by a Five-Year Plan started in 1928, which Britain thought fit to assist by the loan of money and technicians. By 1929, a decade after the Armistice, the Continent had made an extraordinary recovery from the

AIRSHIP VERSUS AEROPLANE

Below the Graf Zeppelin is seen flying over Wembley Stadium in 1929. Even before the tragic destruction of her sister ship the Hindenburg in America in 1937 there were signs that the future of air transport lay with the heavier-than-air machines. It was by aeroplane, not airship, that the carriage of mail by air was being undertaken. See the picture on the facing page, taken also in the year 1929.



THE ROYAL MAIL TAKES TO THE AIR

The period following the end of the war was one of intensified progress in all spheres of mechanical development. Where before the war aviation had been in the experimental stage, after the war it became a commercial possibility owing to the valuable experience which had been won so hardly from the use of aircraft in the operations of the war. An important event in this transition is illustrated above; Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Minister of Air, was among those who on 30 March, 1929, were at Croydon when the first air mail left for India, marking the beginning of a great speed up in postal communications overseas.

ravages of war. It seemed that Europe, and indeed the whole world, was moving into an era of secure peace and of increasing prosperity. There was never a greater delusion.

In 1929 the most serious problem facing Britain was still that of unemployment. There were still a million and a quarter registered workers without a job. In the General Election of that year Labour presented itself as the party that would reduce unemployment and improve the treatment of those who must remain out of work. The electorate returned it for the first time as the largest party in the House: there were now 287 Labour members, 59 Liberals, and 260 Conservatives. A second Labour Government was formed, again with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister and Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Labour Government would be dependent, like the first, on Liberal votes, but the Liberals seemed to see eye to eye with Labour in the need for relieving unemployment.

Hardly had this Labour Government come into office than an economic crisis broke out in the United States. The whole world was affected by it. Prices dropped. International trade dwindled. Nations

dependent on American buying found their markets gone and sought to dump their goods wherever they could get any sort of price for them—and that meant dumping them in Britain, almost the only remaining free-trade country.

In such conditions few buyers could afford to take Britain's exports, and the figures of British unemployed soared from 1,250,000 in early 1929 to 1,750,000 in early 1930, and up to 2,600,000 in early 1931. Nations like Germany and Austria which were dependent on American loans found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. When the British financiers tried to save them by lending money, the loans were swallowed in the swamp of the slump.

It was the summer of 1931 before the British people began to realize what was happening. In July the Government published the reports of two committees. The first, the Macmillan Report on Finance and Industry, pointed out that British finance was unsound: the City had been lending money for long periods and borrowing for short periods: if foreign debtors should choose to ask for their money back there might be no means of paying them. The second, the May Committee on National Expenditure, concluded that the Govern-



INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

Throgmorton Street usually presents an air of relative calm. On this day, 22 September, 1931, it was crowded long after the Stock Exchange had closed, while the latest news of the industrial and financial crisis was eagerly discussed. The incident which provoked this unusual scene was the news that Great Britain had abandoned the Gold Standard. It seemed to many that Britain was on the point of bankruptcy.

ment was likely to find itself £120 million in arrears at the next Budget, and that the immediate way to reduce the deficit was to cut the wages of Government employees and to cut the unemployment "dole." These reports destroyed the confidence in British finance which politicians had been trying to build up since the war. When, in August, the Bank of England tried to borrow £80 million from America, the New York bankers replied that they would like to have some assurance that Britain would reduce her deficit by the methods which the May Committee had suggested. But the Labour Party had pledged itself not to cut wages or the dole.

It seemed to MacDonald that the best way out of the crisis was to form a government of all parties, a "National" Government which would reduce expenditure and convince the world that Britain could pay her debts. His new Cabinet included four Conservatives, two Liberals, and three Labour men—Snowden, Thomas, and Sankey—as well as himself. It had the support of the Conservatives and of most of the Liberals in the House, but not of the Labour Party, which regarded MacDonald and his colleagues as betrayers of the Labour cause.

The "National" Government went to work rapidly: in a few weeks it had cut expenditure on unemployment relief and had reduced the wages of public servants, including those in the armed forces—a step which provoked a mutiny of sailors at Invergordon. But foreigners were unimpressed: they went on withdrawing their money from London, and the Bank of England had to ask for legislation to relieve it of the duty of paying out gold. The National Government had promised to keep Britain on the Gold Standard, but that promise had to be broken. On 21 September, a month after the National Government had been formed, Britain went off the Gold Standard.

A Good Election Slogan

In October there was a General Election. The question was whether or not the people would support the National Government.

The cuts made in wages and social services had not been popular, neither was the breach of promise over gold. But the majority of the people felt that there was no alternative to cutting expenditure, and as for dropping the Gold Standard, it would mean that the pound would sink in value abroad, thus making British exports cheaper and helping employment in the export industries. The word National was a good election-slogan: it implied that the Labour opponents of the coalition led by MacDonald and Baldwin were anti-British. The leaderless Labour Party could win no more than 49 seats; the Conservatives won 417. MacDonald's coalition was confirmed in power, but it was obvious that the senior partner was the Conservative Party.

The way out of the crisis of 1931 lay in the abandonment of the principles which had been the economic creed of Britain for the last century. First Free Trade was thrown overboard. An Import Duties Act (1932) laid a tariff of 10 per cent on foreign goods and empowered a committee to increase the percentage in cases where imports seemed likely to compete dangerously with home products. Then Private Enterprise was dealt a series of blows. Instead of leaving exporters to make their own deals with foreign buyers, the Government came to the rescue by making agreements with foreign countries by which they were allowed to send a quota of goods to Britain only on condition that they would buy a certain amount of British

goods. Instead of leaving private companies to compete with one another, the Government began to set up monopolistic organizations. Some of these took the form of public utility companies like the London Passenger Transport Board. Others were price-fixing organizations, such as those of the producers of various types of agricultural goods who were empowered by Marketing Acts to determine the price which would be set on all produce within their particular range.

The new economic doctrine was called Planned Economy. It was applied for the first time in the 1930s but it was not carried very far even during that decade, but in the years between 1931 and 1935 the watershed between *laissez faire* and

THE JARROW CRUSADE

Industrial unrest started almost as soon as the Armistice of 1918 and reached a peak of intensity during the early 1930s, when depression and unemployment were at their greatest. Although after 1933 the attention of the British people was turned primarily to foreign affairs, the fires of industrial conflict continued to smoulder. Ellen Wilkinson, seen in the foreground of the photograph, was leading the crusade march of workers from Jarrow undertaken to put their grievances before Parliament at very nearly the same time that Hitler was sending troops into the Rhineland in violation of the Treaty of Versailles.





SCOUT JAMBOREE

The period between the two wars was one of a world-wide increase in scouting. The Boy Scouts organization had been founded by Baden-Powell only in 1908. It won many members, but it was not until the 1920s that its motto, "Be Prepared," and its insistence on the inculcation of good citizenship through sports and pastimes, won it a world-wide reputation. When the coming-of-age Jamboree was held in 1929, 50,000 scouts representing almost all nations of the world attended. So successful was this meeting that it was difficult to accommodate all the "delegates" who desired to attend subsequent jamborees. Here Lord Baden-Powell is in the "Red Indian" camp of the Jamboree of 1932.

planning was passed. Government intervention in finance and foreign trade, in transport and domestic industry had become the accepted thing; the only question was how far and in what direction that intervention should go.

Britain was undergoing a new industrial revolution. The industries which had expanded so enormously in the first industrial revolution were now all in decline. The great shipbuilding, heavy engineering, coal-mining and cotton-manufacturing industries which had made Britain's fortune in the nineteenth century were stagnating. They were the export industries, and exports could not recover the high level of 1913.

Areas where these industries were con-

centrated—Clydeside, Tyneside, Durham, Merseyside, and South Wales—were commonly and rightly known as Distressed Areas, a term which the Government disliked and changed officially to Special Areas. But new industries were developing, industries producing goods for the home market now that they were protected by tariffs from foreign competition, industries supplying semi-luxury goods for the masses who were now for the first time prosperous enough to buy them. The site for these new industries was near the great centres of population where their customers were congregated; they had no need to be near the coalfields or the ports, and indeed they had good reason to avoid the distressed areas where rates were necessarily high.

They established themselves in the Home Counties round London and to a smaller extent in the Midlands near Birmingham. Here were the centres for the motor industries, the wireless and the gramophone industries, the processed food, the domestic appliance, and the artificial silk industries.

A Shift in Population

This meant a shift in population. The first industrial revolution had brought people to the north and to the coal- and iron-fields of South Wales. This second industrial revolution brought them south, to the London area, or to the Midlands in the Birmingham-Coventry vicinity. Between 1921 and 1931 the counties of Northumberland and Durham lost 10 per cent of their population by migration, while Middlesex gained 24 per cent; the population of Scotland and Wales decreased by 90,000, while that of Birmingham and Coventry increased by 200,000. In the 1930s one-fifth of all the inhabitants of England and Wales were living in the area of Greater London.

The British people were now living in large towns to a greater extent than ever before. One-third of the total population was congregated in six great urban centres. But towns were not what they used to be: the citizens were not crowded into tiny areas in the middle, but spread out in new suburbs or scattered even more thinly in a ribbon-development of houses along the main roads. The years between the wars, and especially between 1932 and 1937, saw greater domestic-building activity than any other generation in British history. Three and a half million new houses were built. These new houses meant more than a change in the appearance of the country; they meant a great change in the people's way of life.

Living in the new suburbs and housing-estates, the people were out of touch with their old social and cultural connexions. Working in the new houses, usually with electric light and power and a multitude of labour-saving devices, the housewives had more leisure. At the same time, the old landlord-tenant relations were changing. Most of the new houses were put up by private building-concerns, not for rent, but

for sale, and the purchasers—lower middle-class and upper working-class families—bought them through loans from Building Societies. But many of them were built by local government authorities, and their inhabitants were the council's tenants. Of all the inhabited dwellings in Britain in 1939 over a tenth were council houses, owned by local authorities which had had them built in the last twenty years.

The shift from the heavy to the light industries, the increase of mechanization, and the development of new residential areas, meant a change in the occupation of the people. In the nineteenth century one had thought of the typical British worker as a miner, a foundry or factory worker, or as an agricultural labourer; in the period between the wars it would have been more accurate to think of him (or her) as office worker, transport worker or shop assistant.

The Census of 1931 showed there to have been 1,120,000 miners, 1,675,000 metal-workers, 1,113,000 agricultural workers, 1,830,000 railway and transport workers, 2,176,000 commercial workers, and 1,511,000 clerks and typists.

Growth of Combines

In the nineteenth century nearly all workers were employed by small-scale employers; by the 1930s a large proportion of them were employed by huge combines. The chemical industries had been combined into Imperial Chemical Industries, the soap industry and a hundred others more or less closely connected with it had been amalgamated into Unilever, the joint-stock banks had nearly all been absorbed by one or other of the Big Five, the main-line railways had all come under the control of the Big Four, and in almost every industry from tobacco to steel, from ready-made tailoring to newspapers, the structure of industry was changing in the direction of bigger and fewer units.

The greatest changes in Britain in the between-war years were not so much in the structure of industry as in more personal matters. Almost every class of people had more leisure. Forty-eight hours a week had become the maximum in most organized industries, and in the mining and building trades the working week was even shorter.

Shops were closing earlier and the assistants had most of the evenings as well as their statutory half-holidays free. Many office-workers were down to a forty-hour week. Compared with any previous decades, the between-war period was an age of leisure. It was also an age of prosperity for the masses. Between 1929 and 1937 real wages rose by nearly 14 per cent. Apart from the unemployed, the working-class as a whole was better off than it had ever been. The increase in leisure and in income was bound to mean a change in manners and morals.

New Forms of Entertainment

Most of the newly acquired leisure and income was spent in and on types of entertainment which scientific invention and mass-production had brought within reach of the masses for the first time. The cinema, which had been a curiosity before the war, began to attract millions of people, to whom a weekly visit to the films was coming to appear a necessary amenity. The dance-halls, which had been few and far between, were opening everywhere and the music that was called jazz in the 1920s was the popular cult and culture of the young people. The wireless receiving-set, which had been an affair of cat's-whiskers and ear-phones, was becoming part of the furniture of nearly every home. The daily newspaper, which had been regarded as a luxury only a generation ago, was now almost a necessity: nearly twelve million copies of daily papers, an average of one for every family, were being bought in Britain in the 1930s.

These changes were all in the direction of standardized recreation. The cinema-goers saw the same films, the jazz-addicts heard the same popular tunes, the wireless-listeners rarely tuned in to any programme but that of the B.B.C. Even the newspaper readers showed a remarkable disinclination to extend their patronage beyond one or two of about a dozen daily papers and of half a dozen Sunday papers. No other nation in the world had the big sales enjoyed by some of the English newspapers: the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Herald*, the *News of the World* and the *People* each had a circulation of over two million. In the age of mass-production the English

were becoming a uniform people, even in their recreation.

The older generation naturally deplored all changes in manners, but it seems unlikely that posterity will regard the between-war years as decadent. The consumption of alcohol was increasing, but there were fewer cases of drunkenness. The consumption of tobacco was leaping up, but the health of the nation did not seem to suffer in consequence. Gambling was more widespread—on dogs and football—on teams as well as on horses—but fewer people were ruined by it; the tendency was for small stakes by many people rather than for large stakes by a few.

Perhaps the surprising thing is not that manners and morals changed so much in the between-war decades, but that they changed so little. What struck foreigners was that the Britain of the post-First World War period was so much the same as the Britain before it. For instance, Britain was still a Sabbatarian country. Church-going and all forms of religious observance were declining, as they were in all Protestant countries, but the British Sunday was still the British Sunday: theatres, cinemas, sports grounds, and most places of public refreshment were still closed. Sunday was still dedicated to something, if only to family life.

Morals and Population

The greatest change in the between-war years was in sexual morals. The ban against extra-marital intercourse was weakening during the war. Prostitution became less common, and what in the 1920s was called Free Love became a great deal more so. But the important change was not so much what was permissible outside marriage as what was conventional in marital sexual intercourse. It became conventional among people who married after the war to use contraceptive devices to limit their offspring to three or two children or even to a single child. Families of a dozen children, so common in the Victorian Age, now became regarded as a monstrosity; even families of half a dozen were a rarity. The average was now the two-child family. It was obvious that if this new convention were to persist the population of Britain must inevitably fall.

The number of people in the country was still rising—old people were now living longer than ever before and fewer babies were dying in infancy—but the population was no longer reproducing itself. The birthrate had been declining for half a century, but in the between-war years the fall was most rapid. In 1939 the birthrate in England and Wales was lower than that of any country for which reliable statistics are available, except France and Sweden.

If the between-war period was the age when contraception became conventional, it was also the period when divorce ceased to be outrageous. In the Victorian Age there was virtually no such thing as divorce; not till 1857 was the Divorce

Court set up and by 1913 only 577 divorces had been granted. In the Edwardian Age divorce had become easier, but there was still a strong social stigma attached to it. In the 1920s and 1930s, however, the public attitude changed: in 1938 there were 6,250. This was enough to constitute a moral revolution, but although divorce had become common it had not yet altogether secured conventional approval. There was a striking demonstration of this in 1936, when King Edward VIII, who had just succeeded his father, George V, declared his intention of marrying Mrs. Simpson, an American who had divorced two husbands. Public opinion held that it was unsuitable for a king to take for his bride a woman who had been through the divorce

SOUTHEND BEACH

What a contrast there is between this quite commonplace view of 1934 and the picture of Southsea beach before the outbreak of war in 1914 (page 260). Most of the inhibitions of the Victorian and Edwardian Ages had disappeared with the war, the bathing beaches of Britain were crowded throughout the summer with throngs of people whose bathing costumes and manners reflected the changing age. It has been said that an island people are always attracted by the sea. Certainly the cult of bathing and sunbathing took a firm grip on the British people in the 1930s, visits to the seaside from great centres of population like London being facilitated by the popularization of the motor-car and the motor-cycle, and by the provision of cheap day excursions by rail and road.



courts, and approved the attitude of the Prime Minister, Baldwin, when he gave Edward VIII the choice between renouncing Mrs. Simpson and renouncing the throne. King Edward abdicated, and although he had been the most popular of all Princes of Wales, there was no movement to recall him.

Universal Suffrage Established

Britain made considerable progress in extending her democracy during the between-war years. Universal suffrage was at last established in 1928 when under Baldwin's Conservative Government the right to vote was extended to all women over the age of twenty-one (all married women and spinsters over the age of thirty had been given the vote in 1918). Educational facilities for the masses, on which any proper exercise of the franchise must depend, were extended by the Education Acts of 1918 and 1921, which made it obligatory for local-government authorities to provide for higher as well as for elementary schools, and 83 per cent were going into employment when they left at the age of fourteen. There was an increasing number of scholarships and grants to help boys and girls to secondary schools and universities, but in 1935-6, when the total secondary-school population was 463,906, only 211 ex-elementary-school pupils made their way via secondary schools to Cambridge and 173 to Oxford.

Britain was still ruled by an aristocracy. It was not so much an aristocracy of breeding (though noble birth still counted for much: the Cabinet of 1938 included nine men of noble birth and four others who had married daughters of men possessing hereditary titles), it was an aristocracy of wealth, composed of men whose fathers had been rich enough to send them to a Public School. These Public Schools were private schools charging fees which excluded all but the sons of the well-to-do. Without a Public School education it was difficult to attain a position in the ruling classes. Future generations will be astonished at the high proportion of ex-Public School boys in ruling positions on the eve of the Second World War. Of the 60 Ministers, Cabinet and otherwise, in the National Government in 1938, 44 had

been to Public Schools: there were 24 Etonians and 6 Harrovians among them. Of the M.P.s elected in 1935, 100 were Etonians, 24 were Harrovians and 50 had been educated at one of eight other Public Schools. Of the 1,300 civil servants in the administrative grade, the vast majority were ex-Public School boys; indeed over half the entrants to the service between 1880 and 1929 had been at either Eton or Harrow. In other ruling professions there was the same sort of preponderance. One in every four of the High Court Judges in 1938 had been educated at the same school, Winchester. Two-thirds of the members of the Court of the Bank of England were from Public Schools. Of the officers in the Army, 70 per cent had come by way of the Public School through Woolwich or Sandhurst and 15 per cent through the Universities. In the Church of England, preferment went to graduates of Oxford and Cambridge; they held all but four of the Bishoprics and Suffraganacies.

"The Old School Tie"

There was much muttering against the dominance of what was called "the old school tie" in the England of the 1920s and 1930s, but there was little doubt that the education provided at the Public Schools and at Oxford and Cambridge was better than any available elsewhere. The problem was how to extend the facilities for such good education to young people drawn from a wider section of the community.

The gulf between the rich and the poor was becoming wider rather than narrower in the between-war years. Some sections of the public had the complacent belief that steeply graduated taxes were narrowing the gulf, but that was disproved by the Colwyn Report, which showed that a man with an income of a hundred pounds a year paid a higher proportion of his income in taxes than a man with a thousand pounds.

There existed, too, an equally comforting belief that the poor were making up in extended social services for what they lost in taxation, but, as the editor of the *Economist* pointed out in a broadcast talk, "the increase in the expenditure on the Social Services is just about the same as



ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATIONS

At times in the years between 1935 and the outbreak of the Second World War, public opinion became inextricably confused by the various reactions of well-informed people to foreign affairs. It was very gradually becoming apparent that the work of Hitler and Mussolini in Germany and Italy was bound to have repercussions on the British way of life, quite apart from the international problem it presented. The British Fascist organization had been established on the Italian model. It provoked intense feeling, especially in the East End of London and in cities like Manchester and Liverpool. This picture was taken in October, 1936, when a large number of Fascists gathered for a march through the East End of London. Attacks were made on the Blackshirts, as they were called, and the police were forced to intervene to protect them.

the increases in the taxes the poor pay." If we call a family poor whose income was under £250 a year, we find that 90 per cent of the people were poor: and they were in receipt of only 56 per cent of the national income. At the other extreme, if we call those with incomes of over £2,000 a year rich, we find that $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the people were getting 16 per cent of the national income.

In spite of taxation, the rich were getting richer. There were more millionaires in

Britain in 1936-7 than ever before—917 of them, compared with 312 in 1912-13. There were more people with incomes of eight thousand pounds a year in 1929 than there were with incomes of five thousand pounds a year in 1913. There were more paying surtax (that is, with incomes over two thousand pounds) in 1938 than in any previous year. On the other hand, the number of people with no incomes at all except State insurance and public-assistance money was increasing. The middle class

might be bigger and better off than ever, but the rich and the poor were growing farther apart.

Yet there was little animosity between the classes in Britain. All foreigners were struck with the fact that, compared with any other European country, the British people were united. The British might be acutely conscious of class distinctions and widely separated by standards of living, but there was a remarkable absence of class-antagonism.

Increasing Interest in Foreign Affairs

In the 1930's the attention of the British people was turned on to foreign affairs to a degree never before known in time of peace. There were ominous signs that the whole peace settlement of 1919 was breaking down. In 1931, when Japan invaded the three eastern provinces of China (Manchuria), the Chinese Government appealed to the League of Nations, but although the League declared Japan to be an aggressor, no action was taken. The only two Powers in a position to act against Japan—the United States and the Soviet Union—were not members of the League, and Britain, on whom the onus of naval action would have fallen in their absence, was not willing to go to war. The British people were in a divided mind: on one hand they wanted to stop aggression, on the other they were unwilling to take part in any fighting. In other words, they wanted peace without paying for it. It was an attitude which was fatal to peace.

When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933 there was no doubt that he was determined to tear up the Versailles Treaty. Rather than restrain him by force, the National Government was inclined to acquiesce in this. When in March, 1935, he announced the re-creation of the German Air Force and the re-introduction of conscription, both in violation of the treaty, nothing was done to prevent him. When he declared a navy to be essential to Germany, the British Government under Baldwin (who had succeeded MacDonald in 1935) actually endorsed German rearmament by signing a pact in June, 1935, recognizing his right to build a navy up to one-third of the strength of the British Navy.

This failure to support the League of Nations Covenant and the Treaty of Versailles encouraged Mussolini, the Fascist dictator of Italy, to launch an invasion of Abyssinia in October, 1935. The British public was delighted when the League voted economic sanctions against Italy, and equally delighted that it decided against military sanctions. Mussolini, in no way deterred, proceeded with his invasion. But the British people had an uneasy conscience, and when they heard that their Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare (later Lord Templewood), had agreed with the French Minister, Laval, to partition Abyssinia between Britain, France, and Italy, there was a public outcry which led to Sir Samuel's resignation.

The strange confusion of the British mind was shown by a ballot organized by the League of Nations Union in the summer of 1935. Of the eleven million who voted in favour of the League, ten and a half million wanted all-round disarmament and only six and a half million were in favour of military sanctions. How could aggression be stopped without military sanctions? How could the League Covenant be supported without rearmament? When Baldwin went to the country for the elections of November, 1935, he said nothing about the necessity of rearmament. But for this omission he might have lost the election. As it was the National Government won 431 seats in all. The Conservatives had 375 M.P.s and the Labour Opposition only 168.

Germans Re-enter the Rhineland

Yet there was no alternative to rearmament. In March, 1936, Hitler sent troops into the Rhineland, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaty of Locarno, and of his own reiterated promises. Britain would not take action against him, France dared not take action alone. Winston Churchill was telling the House of Commons the full extent and meaning of German rearmament, and at last, in February, 1937, the Government proposed the expenditure on rearmament of £400 million in the first instance, with a possible increase to a total of £1,500 million in five years. But the British people were still not in favour of re-arming. The Labour Party



A NOTABLE MAIDEN VOYAGE

For the British Merchant Navy 1936 was an important year, for it witnessed the consummation of Britain's determination to recapture the "Blue Riband" of the Atlantic. Here the R.M.S. Queen Mary is arriving in New York harbour at the end of her maiden voyage.

was against putting arms in the hands of what in fact was a Conservative Government, and the Conservatives were half-hearted in their opposition to Hitler and the Fascist aggressors. A civil war in Spain showed how deeply the British were divided on foreign politics. General Franco was leading a rebellion against the Spanish Republican Government, and Hitler and Mussolini were sending aeroplanes and troops to support the rebels. The British Government's policy of Non-Intervention was ignored not only by Germany and Italy but by Soviet Russia, which sold arms to the Spanish Government. Public opinion in Britain was split between the Left who supported the Spanish Government and the Right who supported Franco.

It was 1938 before the British public as a whole became awake to the danger of Hitler. In March he annexed Austria, after having given his word that "Germany

neither intended nor wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria, or to annex Austria or to conclude an Anschluss." A few months later he was threatening Czechoslovakia. The British Government would have liked him to stop. Neville Chamberlain, the younger son of Joseph Chamberlain, who had become Prime Minister on Baldwin's resignation in the previous year, flew to Berchtesgaden and later to Godesberg to plead with him. But Chamberlain would not make contact with Soviet Russia, which was Czechoslovakia's most powerful ally. In the end, in September, he went to Munich with the French Prime Minister to meet Mussolini and Hitler, and it was agreed that Hitler should take the northern areas of Czechoslovakia, including the fortified zones and the centres of the armaments industry. Neither the Czech Government nor the Russian was consulted.

A LIE-DOWN STRIKE

In retrospect it seems strange that domestic issues still loomed large during the last year of peace, but in fact the problem of unemployment was still acute. This photograph of January, 1939, illustrates one way in which the unemployed sought to bring to public notice their hard lot. A lie-down strike was staged in Oxford Street, London, when men lay down in the muddy road and covered themselves with placards emblazoned with slogans.





COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOW

By the autumn of 1938 many people had come to regard war as inevitable. Government propaganda added fuel to the flames by insisting on the need for preparedness. People were alarmed especially by the threat of gas warfare in connexion with aerial attack. Towards the end of September gas masks were being fitted and distributed to the entire population. Here is reproduced the scene at an Islington, London, block of flats while the Air Raid Precaution officers fit masks for residents and explain how to use them.

The British people felt the Munich agreement as a deep humiliation, but they also felt it as a relief; there would be no war, or at least, no war yet. But the mood of relief vanished in the spring of 1939 when Hitler, in violation of all the promises he had made at Munich, occupied the remainder of Czechoslovakia and when he seized Memel from Lithuania and let his friend Mussolini seize Albania. Now at last Chamberlain's Government realized that only by force could Hitler be prevented from overcoming the whole of Europe. The British Government hastened to give a military guarantee to Poland—and to Rumania and to Greece. It was obvious

that these guarantees would need the support of Russia, and at last negotiations were opened with Moscow. But the British and Russians were full of distrust of each other. The Russians knew that if Hitler were to attack in the East they and not the British or the French would have to bear the brunt of the fighting. They preferred to keep out of it, and on 23 August they signed a pact with Germany. The way was now open for Hitler. On 1 September he launched his invasion of Poland. On Sunday morning, 3 September, the British people heard the voice of Neville Chamberlain telling them on the wireless that Britain was at war again with Germany.

Test Yourself

1. Why was there fighting in Ireland during this period?
2. Why was the first Labour Government so short-lived?
3. What changes came over the British Empire in the between-war years?
4. Why did Britain go off the gold standard in 1931?
5. What were the main stages in the drift to war in the 1930s?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

THE British people were morally better prepared for this war than they had been for the last. The declaration of war came as no surprise; it had been expected since April, if not since the Munich crisis a year ago. In many ways this war seemed to be a repetition of 1914: again the Germans were the aggressors; again an east European nation was the *casus belli*—Poland now, as Serbia had been in 1914; again Britain was sending an expeditionary force to man the north-eastern frontier of France. No one expected a short war: the Germans had already welded Austria and the Czech bastion of Bohemia into their Reich, and they had a collaborator, however distrustful, in Russia. Everyone expected that the new weapons of the First World War—the aeroplane, the submarine, the tank, and poison-gas—would be the basic weapons of the second, and only in the case of poison-gas would this expectation turn out to be mistaken.

But if better prepared morally, the British were worse prepared militarily than they had been in 1914. Modern warfare depends on mechanical weapons of great complexity, and these weapons take three or four years to bring into full production. German production was already near its height in 1939 when British mass-production had hardly begun. The British Army was short of nearly every form of arms, especially of tanks, and there was not a single armoured division in the expeditionary force. The Navy was weak, particularly on the side of aircraft carriers. The Air Force was in no fit state for war: its new fighter-planes, the Hurricanes and the Spitfires on which everything would depend, had scarcely yet begun to leave the factories. Britain had hardly any anti-aircraft artillery. Her weakest point of all lay in defence against the bomber-plane,

the very weapon in which Germany was known to be strongest.

It took the Germans scarcely more than a fortnight to defeat Poland. Their bombers wrecked the Polish Air Force almost before it could leave the ground. Their tanks and dive-bombers, working in perfect co-operation, cut through the Polish defences like a wire through cheese. Any chance that the Polish forces might have had of re-assembling in the rear was frustrated by the Russians, who advanced on 17 September and occupied the eastern half of Poland according to their secret pre-arrangement with Hitler. The western allies could do nothing to help the Poles. The French did not dare to attack the Siegfried Line in the Rhineland. Neither British nor French dared to bomb Germany; they were afraid of German retaliation, against which they had as yet no adequate defences.

Throughout the autumn and winter there was no fighting in the west. It seemed, in Neville Chamberlain's phrase, a "twilight war," if not, as American newspaper correspondents called it, a "phoney war." Britain was mobilizing and organizing civil defence—conscripting men and women for work in the factories as well as in the armed forces, building air-raid shelters and enforcing an increasingly severe black-out, rationing food and petrol, and restricting public entertainments—but there was still a certain lack of urgency about it all. Everyone knew that Hitler would launch a new offensive in the spring, probably in the west, but when that offensive came it was a surprise. On 9 April German forces overran Denmark and the ports of Norway. In Denmark there was no resistance. In Norway the Army fought but could not hold a single airfield. The British succeeded in landing north and south of Narvik and of Trondheim, but

without air-cover they were powerless and soon they had to withdraw their forces.

The British people were shocked by this failure and blamed their Government, especially Neville Chamberlain, who, it was felt, had none of the qualities necessary in a war-leader. It was a great relief when it was known that Winston Churchill had succeeded him as Prime Minister, with an all-party Government in which Labour was strongly represented. (Clement Attlee became Vice-Premier; Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service; Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary; Hugh Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare; and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty.) The nation was now united.

A few hours before Churchill became Prime Minister, on 10 May, Hitler had launched his major offensive against Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. The weapons were those which had won the battle of Poland: *panzer*-divisions of tanks and armoured vehicles supported by dive-bombers. The Dutch capitulated after four and a half days. The

Belgians were quickly driven from their main lines of defence. When the British Army and some of the French forces had moved forward from their entrenched frontier positions to the rescue of Belgium, the Germans struck at the hinge of their line, near Sedan, and pierced it. Once through the line, the German tanks turned westward, behind the British positions, and raced for the sea near Boulogne. The whole British Expeditionary Force and many French troops were now surrounded. There was nothing for them but surrender or an attempt at evacuation by sea. Somehow the majority of them were evacuated. Nearly a thousand boats made their way to the beaches of Dunkirk. Over three hundred and thirty-seven thousand soldiers were brought safely to England. But their arms and equipment were left behind. Britain had now no army and no foothold on the Continent. France was left unsupported, her scattered forces in the north-east at the mercy of the German *panzer*-divisions which were advancing on Paris, her armies in the fortresses of the Maginot

LOCAL DEFENCE VOLUNTEERS

It was the threat of invasion after the defeat of the Allied armies in the spring of 1940 that resulted in the formation of the Local Defence Volunteers, later known as the Home Guard. Their purpose was to provide resistance locally in the event of invasion. At first there were neither arms nor uniforms, but in spite of all difficulties training was carried on, as this photograph taken in July, 1940, at Buckhurst Hill, Essex, shows.





Line surrounded, and her positions in the rear indefensible since Churchill refused to send the R.A.F. fighter-squadrons which would be needed for the defence of Britain.

It was the most perilous moment in the whole of Britain's history. After 21 June, when France capitulated, the United Kingdom was alone in the struggle against Germany. Mussolini had declared war on Hitler's side when it was certain that France would be defeated, and Italy's belligerence meant that the Mediterranean would be closed to British merchant ships. The terms of the armistice which Marshal Pétain had signed with Hitler gave Germany occupation of all the northern and western provinces of France. Germany now held the entire continental coastline from the Arctic to the Pyrenees.

There was nothing for Britain now but to face invasion or to sue for peace. The outside world expected her to choose the latter. It was hard to see how Britain could resist a German invasion, and if she did succeed in resisting it she would be no nearer to winning the war: the Continent would still be in Hitler's hands. The British people, however, had no thought but to fight on. The crisis made them more closely united than they had ever been before. Calmly they set about building up the defences of their island—mining and wiring the coast, building pill-boxes to cover the crossroads, removing sign-posts, enrolling as Local Defence Volunteers

MIRACLE OF DUNKIRK

In May, 1940, the British Expeditionary Force was faced on the left flank with the collapse of the Belgian armies and on the right flank with German tanks and lorry-borne infantry pouring between British and French through a gap which the latter could not help to close. So the B.E.F. fell back fighting toward the coast in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. The Royal Navy, nobly assisted by many scores of "little ships" manned largely by "amateur" seamen, and wonderfully favoured by fine weather and calm sea, ferried more than three hundred thousand men to England. There, emergency transport, magnificently improvised, carried the weary troops to depots to be re-grouped. Above: troops waiting on the beaches. Below: on one of the returning ships.





(soon to be renamed the Home Guard). There was much that was ridiculous about these defences—the Secretary of State for War talked of arming the Home Guard with pikes since there were not enough rifles to go round—but nothing that was hysterical, except perhaps the decision to deport all enemy aliens to the Isle of Man. The people were united; it was, as Churchill said, “their finest hour.”

The Battle of Britain began on 8 August with heavy air raids on convoys off the south coast. The German object was to destroy the fighter-squadrons of the R.A.F. in the air and on the ground. Once Fighter Command had been defeated, the Navy would be without protection; once the Navy was without protection, the sea-borne invasion could begin. But something went wrong. As day after day more and more German planes engaged the Hurricanes and Spitfires over England, it became increasingly clear that the German losses were a great deal heavier than the British. The British factories were turning out Spitfires faster than the Germans could destroy them. The fighter-pilots could not be replaced, but somehow Britain seemed to have enough. On 15 September, when the Germans launched their greatest attack—two raids of two hundred and fifty aircraft in each—they lost fifty-six planes. This rate of loss was higher than even the Germans could afford. By the end of October, when over seventeen hundred

German aircraft had been destroyed, the Battle of Britain was over and Hitler had decided to postpone indefinitely the invasion of the British Isles. It was the first military set-back that Hitler had suffered since he had come into power.

The crisis was ended, but the endurance-test of the British people had only begun. Abandoning daylight raids as too expensive, the Germans turned to a campaign of night-bombing by which they reckoned to destroy the British morale and to weaken their war effort by wrecking their factories and paralysing their ports. London was raided night after night; the other great ports, particularly Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth and Southampton, suffered severely, and in mid-November the Midland cities, especially Coventry and Birmingham, were attacked. Little defence was possible against these night-raids in 1940: the bombers flew high above the range of the searchlights and anti-aircraft guns, and the British night-fighters had not yet learned to make the best use of radiolocation. The material damage done seemed enormous, yet the loss of factories and the paralysis of transport was far from crippling and the loss of life was surprisingly small—the civilian casualties in November, the worst month, amounted to no more than 4,558—which is much less than the deaths in road accidents in a normal peacetime year. As for British morale, it was strengthened rather than weakened by the raids.



Exposed to the same dangers, civilians and soldiers, women and men, poor and rich felt themselves to be all in the same front line. Some hundreds of thousands of children were evacuated from the towns to the rural districts, but the Government's difficulty was not to prevent a panic flight but to dissuade "evacuee"-mothers from bringing their families back to the danger areas. Almost the whole adult population was mobilized in one form or another, either in the armed forces or in civilian work recognized to be of national importance. Fire-watching and Home Guard duties became compulsory for civilians in their spare time, and a network of new civilian defence-forces, including the Observer Corps and the National Fire Service, was built up. Never was a nation so closely united as Britain in the years during which she fought alone.

Britain's isolation came to an end in a surprising fashion on 22 June, 1941, when Hitler launched an offensive against the Soviet Union. During the previous winter his forces had penetrated the Danubian

PROBLEMS OF SUPPLY

On 8 January, 1940, food rationing came into force in England when butter, bacon and sugar were controlled. It was to be fifteen years before the last rationing regulations were to be lifted. At sea began the long duel between submarine and bomber aircraft on the one hand and the British merchant convoys on the other. The photograph below, taken during the passage of a supply convoy to Russia, is a graphic reminder of wartime peril on the sea. In the foreground is the destroyer H.M.S. Eskimo and the explosion is that of a bomb narrowly missing an aircraft carrier, a type of vessel that became increasingly valuable in convoy defence as the power and range of the planes it carried improved.





THE LONDON BLITZ

The prolonged air attack on London (and later other key industrial towns of Great Britain) was on an unprecedented scale, though the initial attack was delayed much longer than had generally been expected. It was after the retreat from Dunkirk, followed by the victory of the R.A.F. in the Battle of Britain, that bombing of the metropolis began on a major scale at the beginning of September, 1940. After that there were nightly attacks until just before Christmas, during which an enormous amount of material damage was caused. Here the Negretti and Zambra building at Holborn Circus is ablaze after a direct hit.

States, occupying Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria without resistance. On 6 April the Germans had invaded Yugoslavia and Greece, bringing their armies to capitulation within a few weeks. Britain had sent forces from her North African front to help the Greeks, but they were obliged to retire, not only from the Greek mainland, but from all the islands, including Crete. It seemed as if Hitler's spring offensive would be aimed at driving the British out of the Middle East, but he chose instead to aim a lightning blow against neutral Russia, with which he had been on such good terms since the Pact of August, 1939.

The British Government's reaction was instantaneous. On the evening of 22 June, Winston Churchill broadcast an assurance of Britain's support for the Soviet Union in their common struggle against Nazi Germany. The British people felt them-

selves in deep sympathy with the Russians, and as the months went on bringing news of the Russians' gallant fighting—of their scorched-earth tactics in retreat, of their endurance in the siege of Leningrad, of their success in holding the German advance before Moscow—sympathy turned to admiration and admiration to gratitude and eulogy for the "glorious Red Army."

Before the end of 1941, a second surprising act of aggression brought Britain an even more valuable ally. On 7 December the American fleet in Pearl Harbour was bombed by Japanese aircraft, and Hitler supported his Japanese partners in the "Axis" by declaring war on the United States. Already President Roosevelt had given Britain all help short of fighting; he had sent fifty destroyers to help to keep the sea-lanes open during the Battle of Britain, and he had persuaded Congress to

pass a Lend-Lease Act in March, 1941, to enable Britain to import supplies from the United States, irrespective of her capacity to pay for them. But the United States were still technically neutral, and it needed the Japanese attack and Hitler's declaration to bring them into the "shooting war."

In 1942 the war became world-wide. It was a triumphant year for the aggressors. On the high seas they succeeded in sinking more than three British and American ships a day, on an average, throughout the first seven months. In the Far East the Japanese had no difficulty in overrunning Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore, and the Dutch East Indies, and shockingly little difficulty in driving the Americans out of the Philippines and the British out of Burma. China was now isolated from the Western Powers and even Australia was in danger. On the Russian front the Germans, postponing a further direct attack on Moscow, struck through the

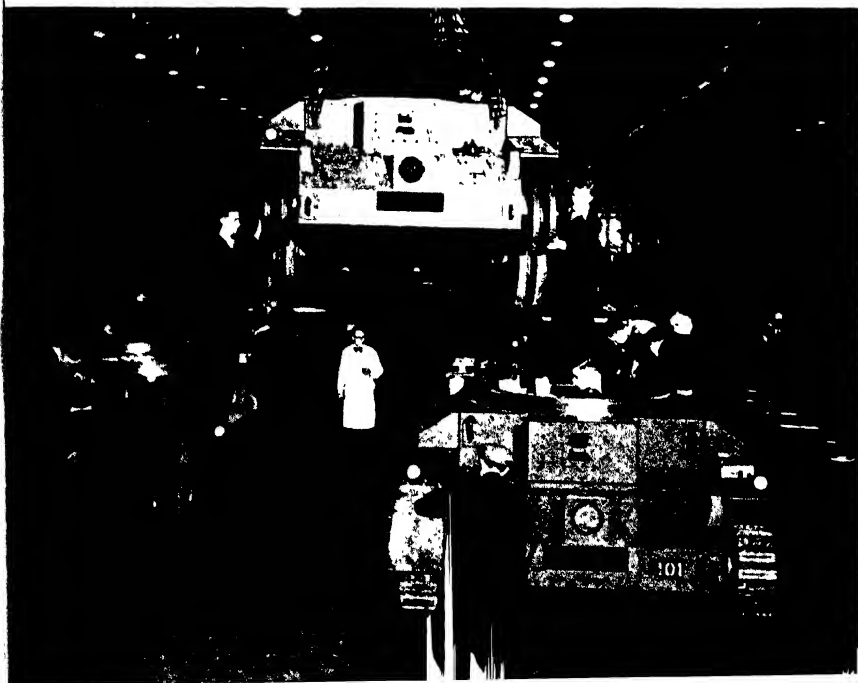
southern Ukraine and penetrated as far as the foothills of the Caucasus and the lower reaches of the Volga. In North Africa, the Germans, who had largely replaced the Italians, drove the British out of Cyrenaica and back into Egypt.

These triumphs of the aggressors were all too obvious. What was not obvious was the fact that before the end of 1942 the armaments-production of the British and Americans had outstripped that of the Germans. The long years of work in the factories of Britain, Canada, and the United States were at last bearing fruit in the form of bombing-planes and fighting-planes which could deprive the *Luftwaffe* of its superiority in the air, and of tanks like the Sherman which could master the German Mark IV tank on land. The weight as well as the quality of armaments began to turn against the aggressors.

In that month the turning-point came on two fronts. On 2 November the British

THE DRIVE FOR MORE TANKS

As in the First World War, one of the chief problems was the supply of materials and munitions to the swiftly enlarging forces at home and overseas. The then Minister of Supply, Mr. Herbert Morrison, decided to set up a Tank Board to expedite the manufacture of tanks. At this Ministry of Supply depot in the Midlands cruiser tanks are in production.





DESERT AND JUNGLE

Above: A patrol of the Long Range Desert Group of the Eighth Army taking a meal. This was not always pleasant, not only was everything permeated by sand, but on account of the ferocious insect life of the desert it often was preferable to stand up, using the tail-board of a truck as a table. Below: Men of the "forgotten" Fourteenth Army in the jungle of Burma. At first the Japanese used the jungle while mechanized transport and lack of jungle training kept the British on the few roads. Later the Fourteenth Army outfought the Japanese alike in the hills of Manipur and in the jungles and on the plains of Burma.





SUPPLY BY PARACHUTE

The supply by parachute of troops in forward positions was originally tried on a large scale in Burma and proved an important contributory factor in the defeat of the Japanese in that theatre. Dakota planes proved invaluable in these operation. As the army advanced southward supplies were brought direct from India across the Bay of Bengal instead of making the long, slow journey by land. Later the use of parachutes was extended to the war in Europe and was used in the advance across France after the landing on the Normandy beach-head.

under General Montgomery destroyed the German tanks at the battle of El Alemein in Egypt, and six days later a great Anglo-American expeditionary force began to land in Morocco and Algiers: nothing that the Germans could do would now be able to save their position in North Africa. On 19 November the Russians launched a counter-offensive which drove the Germans out of Stalingrad and cleared the line of the Volga.

The tide had turned, but, as Churchill said, it was not the beginning of the end so much as the end of the beginning; 1943 was to be a long year of struggle with nothing considerable in the way of success. It was 3 September before the British and Americans could gain their first foothold

on the continent of Europe. The Italians had overthrown Mussolini in July, but forty-five days had passed before an armistice was signed with non-Fascist Italy, and meanwhile the Germans had had time to take over the defence of the peninsula. A long and very arduous campaign lay ahead for the democratic Powers in Italy. It was 25 September before the Russians recaptured Smolensk and reached the line of the Dnieper, but the German retreat was anything but a rout and a terrible endurance test went on for both sides, apparently evenly balanced, until after the end of the year.

The beginning of the end came in the summer of 1944. After a prodigious air-offensive in the west, aimed at destroying,

not only the German's factories and airfields, but their whole radiolocation and transport system in northern France, the Anglo-American landing was made in Normandy on 6 June. A few weeks earlier an offensive had been launched in Italy, and the capture of Rome was reported on 4 June. In the last week of that month the Russian offensive opened north of the Pripet Marshes and drove a wide gap through the middle of the German line.

From that time onward there was nothing but defeat for the Germans. Their armies lost the battle of Normandy and withdrew from France and Belgium to the frontiers of the Reich. They lost the battle of White Russia and retreated on every sector of the eastern front. Meanwhile their home towns were being wrecked by indiscriminate bombing against which they no longer had any means of defence. By all the precedents of war the Germans should have capitulated, but they fought on, launched a last winter offensive in the

Ardennes at Christmas, and had it crushed, fought on again until the Russians had overrun the ruins of Berlin and the British were in Bremen and the Americans in Leipzig, fought on until 1 May, 1945, when they heard Admiral Dönitz announce from the Hamburg radio station that Hitler was dead.

Britain had gone to war, in Neville Chamberlain's words, "to redeem Europe from the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression and to enable the people of Europe to preserve their independence and liberties." Beyond that there was no specific declaration of aims until Churchill and Roosevelt met in August, 1941 (when the United States was still technically neutral), and drew up the document known as the Atlantic Charter, which was subsequently signed in London by representatives of all the belligerent United Nations, including the Soviet Union. It consisted of eight short points and is worth quoting in full

SALERNO LANDING

The Italian campaign of 1943, though it was attended by great hardship and necessitated frequent improvisation, proved an encouraging feature of the middle phases of the war. All through September the Eighth and Fifth Armies continued to advance. Here units of the Fifth Army are landing south of Salerno, with the help of a smoke screen, from one of the specially constructed transports, thus making contact with the Eighth Army.



First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment of all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of

dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

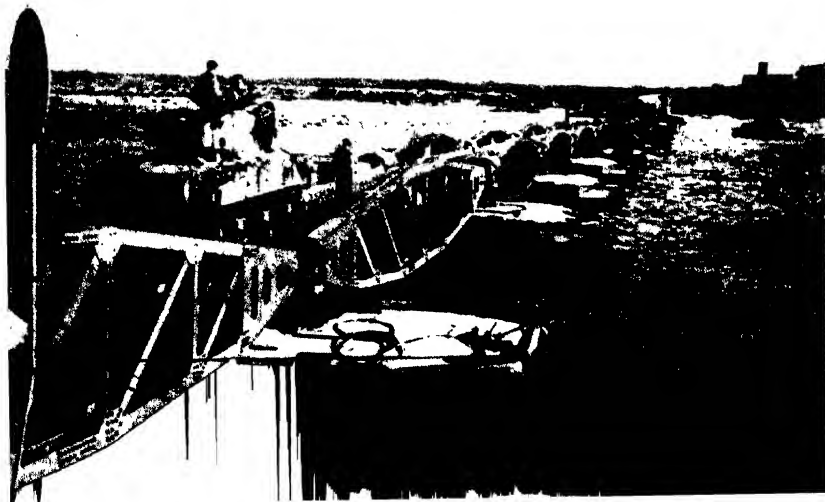
Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth, they believe that all nations of the world, for realistic as well as for spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

As the years of war went on it became increasingly clear that the ideals of the Atlantic Charter would not be reached. After a meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt

MULBERRY HARBOUR

The success of the D-day operations which were to lead to a rapid conclusion of the war in Europe depended on the building of a prefabricated harbour (called Mulberry), which was set up at the approaches to the Normandy beach and made possible the unloading of heavy supplies in all weathers. As events proved, this brilliant conception was the key to the whole campaign. Bad weather with almost unprecedentedly high winds for the season attended the landing and though the harbour was damaged by the high seas, it remained serviceable and achieved all for which it had been designed. Here a Sherman tank is seen leaving the floating harbour by Bailey bridge.





AIR POWER

The Second World War saw a tremendous advance in air power. Compare the photograph of an R.A.F. ground crew loading rocket projectiles on to a Typhoon fighter (above) with that on page 287. Similar advance was made with bombs and the machines which carried them. On page 283 a photograph shows a single house wrecked in 1916 by a bomb from a Zeppelin. At the end of the Second World War a single atom bomb destroyed the town of Hiroshima. Since then there has been developed the hydrogen bomb, of which a number has been tested; one such bomb has at least the explosive power of one thousand tons of TNT.

at Casablanca in January, 1943, the world was startled to hear that their war-aim was "unconditional surrender." The Charter would not apply to Germany. In the following year it became apparent that it would not apply to most of the nations in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was aggrandizing itself at the expense of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which the Russians had annexed in 1940 and were now re-occupying, and also at the expense of Finland, which they were depriving of the Petsamo and Karelia provinces. Further aggrandisement would follow at the expense of Rumania in Bukovina and Bessarabia. What was more serious was the Russian claim to the eastern half of Poland. Roosevelt and Churchill recognized this

claim publicly after their conference with Stalin at Yalta in February, 1945, and Churchill went so far as to assure the House of Commons that this new partition of Poland was not only necessary but just. Britain had moved a long way from her attitude of 1939 when the territorial integrity of Poland was guaranteed. At Yalta it was agreed that Poland should be compensated for her losses in the east by accessions of Germany territory in the west and north, but how the German people could live in freedom from want when deprived of their best agricultural provinces was not considered. At their conference at Quebec in August, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed to a policy of "pastoralization" for Germany;

at Yalta they decided to deprive her of most of her pastures.

The attitude of the British people as well as that of their Government toward Germany changed as the war went on. At first the British people distinguished sharply between "good" Germans and "bad" Germans—they were fighting not against Germans but against Nazis—but later the slogan was: "There is no good German but a dead German." At first there was a popular insistence that bombing should be confined to military objectives, but after the German raids of 1940–41 the British public was reconciled to the indiscriminate bombing of Germany and welcomed the "thousand-bomber raids" of German towns, knowing that these involved the destruction not only of arms-factories and transport but of whole residential quarters. Unconditional surrender became a popular policy, though there were many people who knew that it must prolong the war, since it gave the enemy no inducement to stop fighting before there was nothing left to fight with, and that it would lead to destruction on a scale that would make the subsequent reconstruction of Europe apallingly difficult.

A Stronger League of Nations

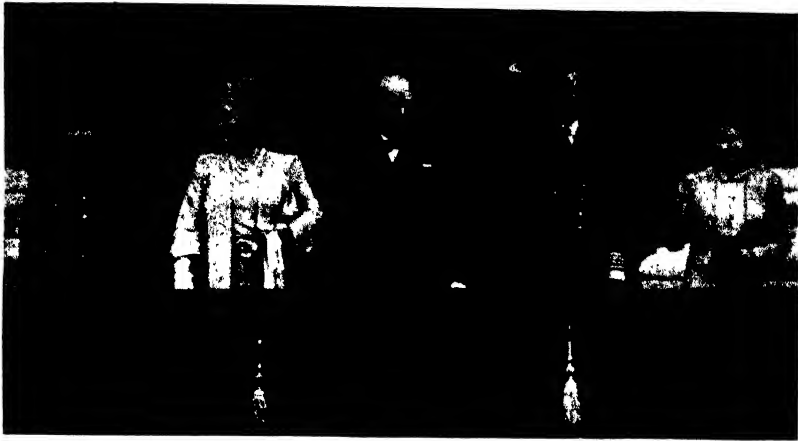
In contrast to the attitude of the belligerents during the First World War, plans for post-war reconstruction made in the course of the second were many-sided and far-reaching. The necessity for international organization of relief for the occupied and devastated countries was foreseen, and as early as November, 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.) was constituted. The need for some international control of finance to facilitate trade and prevent a recurrence of a world economic crisis was realized, and a conference held at Bretton Woods in July, 1944, set up an International Money Fund. The most obvious need was for a new and stronger League of Nations, "a League with teeth in it," to preserve the future peace of the world, and it was recognized that the first essential was that the United States and the Soviet Union should be members of the new organization from the beginning. Conversations at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 broke down

because of objections raised by the Russians, but at a conference at San Francisco in June, 1945, the Charter of the new League, which was called the United Nations, was drawn up. Russian objections were met by a clause laying down that the assent of all the Great Powers, including, of course, the Soviet Union, must be given before the Council of the United Nations could take any important decision.

Defeat of Japan

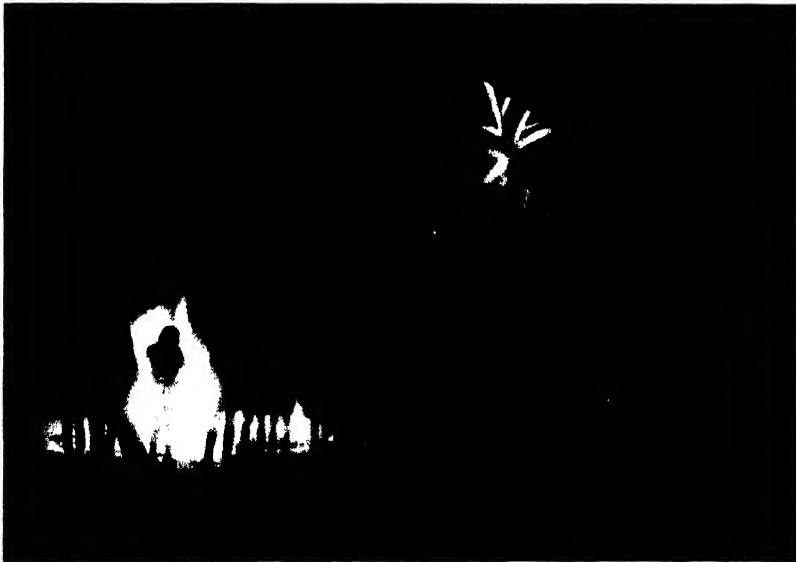
The machinery for regulating the post-war world was thus in existence before the fighting ended. How well this machinery would work would depend on how closely the Great Powers were agreed in their peace-aims. On paper they were in perfect agreement: their aim was to establish democracy the world over. When the British, American, and Russian leaders met at Potsdam a few months after the German collapse, Stalin reiterated that the Germans should be prepared for democracy and that the people in the Russian sphere of influence, notably the Poles, should have free and unfettered elections. In their aims with regard to Japan the three Great Powers seemed also to be united. Russia had denounced her pact with Japan in April and was expected to join in the general invasion of Japan which the Americans were planning for autumn, 1945, and spring, 1946. But the Japanese war was to be ended by other means, on which the Russians were not consulted. On 6 August, 1945, the Americans dropped a single bomb on the city of Hiroshima, killing sixty thousand people. By comparison with this "atom bomb" all other instruments of destruction seemed trifling. The Soviet Union declared war on Japan on 8 August, but the victory was already won. A second atom bomb was dropped on 9 August, and on the following day the Japanese Government sued for peace. The war in the Far East was ended, not by collaboration between the three Great Powers, but by the use by the Americans, in agreement with the British and Canadian Governments, of a weapon which had been kept secret from the Russians. It ended in great fear on the Russians' part.

Before the Japanese war ended the



VICTORY CELEBRATIONS

When the German armies surrendered in May, 1945, the London crowds—as always on occasions of national importance—gathered before Buckingham Palace. To answer the cheers there came appropriately on to that balcony (above) so often the focal point of the nation's notice, His Majesty King George VI, accompanied by his wife and daughters and by his Prime Minister, Winston Spencer Churchill, chief architect of victory. Celebrations were not confined to London; that night bonfires blazed in many places. The one below was at West Croydon in Surrey. But once expression had been given to the joy felt at the overthrow of the principal enemy, the nations turned back grimly to devote attention to the Japanese. Before the summer's end here, too, victory was to be achieved.



British people had the opportunity to declare their peace-aims in so far as the future of their own country was concerned. The Labour Party refused to continue to support the coalition under Churchill once the German war was over, and in July, 1945, a General Election was held, the first for ten years. Most of the electorate felt that they were asked to choose between a Conservative Government which would put the clock back to 1939 and a Labour Government which would ensure full employment and carry out the Nationalization plans that had always been a part of Socialist policy. In spite of the very great personal prestige of Churchill—he was probably the most popular Prime Minister, and certainly the most widely respected war-leader, that Britain had ever known—the majority of votes were cast for Labour (twelve million, against eight and a half million for the Conservatives and two and a quarter million for the Liberals). Labour gained over two hundred seats in the new Parliament, the Conservatives lost more than one hundred and fifty. A new government was formed under Clement Attlee, with Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary, Herbert Morrison as President of the Council, Hugh Dalton as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Stafford Cripps as President of the Board of Trade. These worked for the wartime coalition under Churchill, but important posts were given to two more vituperative Socialists who had been constant critics of Churchill: Emanuel Shinwell became Minister of Labour and Aneurin Bevan Minister of Health.

Unsurpassed Destruction

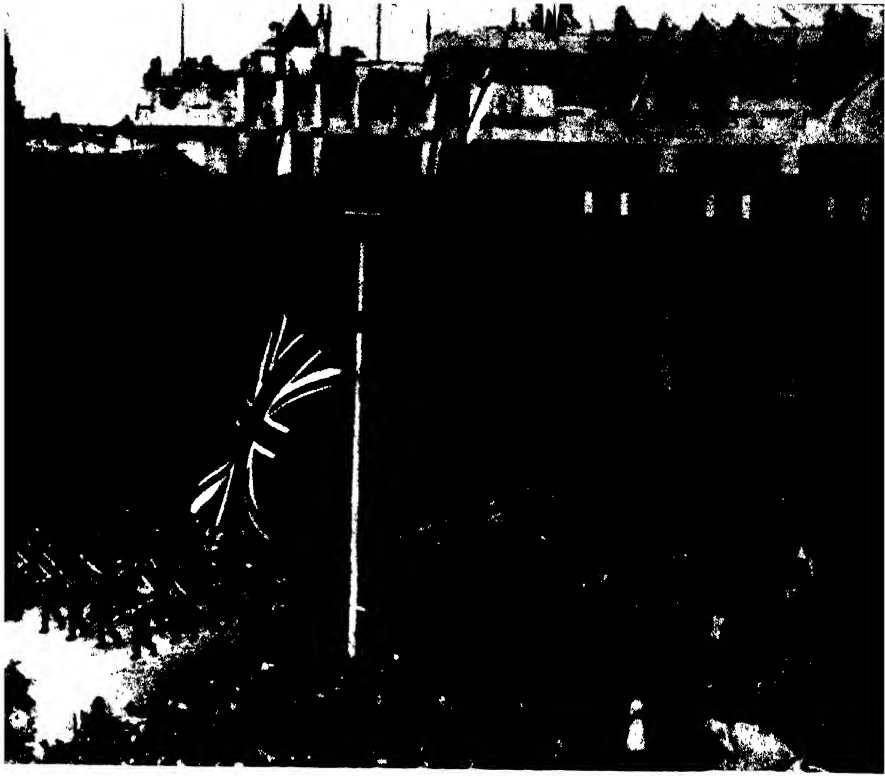
In foreign affairs the policy of the new government would not be very different from that of the coalition in which so many of its members had served. The problems of peacemaking were more difficult than those which had confronted the victors after any other war in modern times. Europe was shattered: from the Ukraine to Brittany, from the Arctic Circle to Greece, roads and bridges were destroyed and national economies in ruins. In Germany, the heart of Europe, the hub of the continental system of transport and the main generator of its industrial power, the destruction of war surpassed anything that

had been known or even imagined. Aerial bombardment had reduced the Ruhr industrial area to wreckage—in town after town there was nothing left but a formless heap of rubble—and in every big German town, from Hamburg to Dresden, from Berlin to Munich, there was destruction on a scale in comparison with which the damage done to London or Coventry seemed inconsiderable.

Re-building Europe

The task of re-building Europe and restoring the devastated economy of the Continent would have been appallingly difficult even if political circumstances had been favourable, but in 1945 there was a political vacuum in the centre of Europe. After every other modern war there had been a government in the defeated nations with which the victors could negotiate a peace settlement or which would accept responsibility of carrying out the letter of an imposed treaty. But now in Germany there was no such thing. Hitler had destroyed every element out of which a non-Nazi government could have been formed and the victors' policy ruled out any dealings with men who had been prominent under the Nazis. The victors would have to take the responsibility for rebuilding Germany on themselves, for if Germany were not rebuilt the economy of the surrounding countries could not recover. And in fact only three of the victors could take any important part in this or in any other aspect of the world peace settlement.

There were only three Great Powers left in the world in 1945. Every purely European nation was either too small, too poor, or too badly damaged to have any considerable influence, and, in the Far East, China, which had been given the courtesy title of a Great Power, was in the throes of civil war. The settlement of the world rested on the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and on Great Britain and the Commonwealth. Everything depended on the possibility of good relations between these three Powers, and British policy under the Labour Government as under the Coalition was to bring them together to work as united nations. But Britain was not in a position to take the leading part in the triumvirate. Words



LONDON VICTORY PROCESSION

The Victory Parade was held on 8 June, 1946, when contingents representing the Commonwealth forces as well as the many arms of the home forces and of civil defence marched in procession past a saluting base which was set up in the Mall. Here the Canadian contingent is entering the Mall from Admiralty Arch. The salute was taken by King George VI; beneath him on the dais stood Mr. Clement Attlee (now Earl) and then Prime Minister and Mr. (now Sir Winston) Churchill, then Leader of H.M. Opposition.

must be backed by deeds, and when it came to deeds only Russia and America were in a position to act.

Russia was now in control of Europe as far west as a line from Lübeck to Trieste. A wide strip of territory, including Königsberg and Bessarabia, had been incorporated in the Soviet Union; there were Communist-controlled governments in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia; the Russian zone of military occupation included all eastern Germany and Austria except for the cities of Berlin and Vienna, where Britain, the United States, and France shared in quadripartite rule. It was a fantastic situation in which the Soviet

Union, whose standard of living was lower than that of any European nation, was in control of half the Continent.

The United States, on the other hand, had emerged from the war with a standard of living higher than any that had been known in the world's history. They were beyond comparison the most powerful as well as the richest nation in the world. They and they alone possessed a stock of atom bombs; their navy and air force had reached a strength beside which those of Britain looked puny; and their economic might had doubled in four years—the American output of goods and services, which had been at the level of some ninety

thousand million dollars in 1939, had reached one hundred and eighty thousand million by 1944. There was no vestige of isolationist policy in the United States after the Second World War: both political parties were determined that Americans should play their full part in the peace settlement, in Europe as well as in Asia.

The Potsdam Conference

At the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945 it seemed that the British policy of securing joint action on the part of the three Great Powers would succeed, but this turned out to be the last occasion on which it was within sight of success. The Russians distrusted the whole capitalist world, especially the United States, and the Americans came to distrust the Soviet Union and to fear the spread of communism at which its policy was aimed. At no point did combined action on the part of the three Great Powers prove possible. In Germany the Russians broke the Potsdam Agreement from the first, treating their zone of occupation as if it were their own property. In eastern Europe they ignored the promises they had made at Yalta and interfered with the elections so as to place Communists in power in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Over the negotiations for peace treaties with the five "satellite" Powers (Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Finland) they were so uncompromising that the British Foreign Secretary sat through ninety-five meetings before the drafts were agreed, and even then important questions such as the future of the ex-Italian colonies had to be left unsettled. In the Near East, Russian threats against Turkey kept the Turkish army mobilized, and the Russian support of Communists in Greece protracted a civil war. In the Far East, Russia's refusal to co-operate with the Americans with whom they were in joint co-operation of Korea led to the partition of that ill-fated country. In the meetings of the United Nations nothing of any importance could be settled because the Russians used their veto to prevent decisions being made by the Security Council, and turned meetings of the Assembly into a wrangle between the Soviet Union, supported by her satellites, and the rest.

By the summer of 1947 it was clear that the world was getting no nearer to a peace settlement and that continued delay would involve the ruin of nearly every European nation. The United States had already spent nine thousand million dollars in relief and emergency loans, and Europe was getting no nearer to being self-supporting. At this point the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, made an offer of financial help on a much larger scale if the European nations would get together to propose ways in which it could be spent constructively. Ernest Bevin immediately took the lead in calling a conference of European States to discuss the Marshall offer, but the Russians refused to take part and forbade all the nations in their sphere of influence from attending. This boycott finally convinced the American public that collaboration with Russia was impossible. The world situation now turned into an ugly antagonism between the Soviet Union and the United States, with the Communists and their fellow-travellers on one side and the anti-Communists of all nationalities on the other.

American Financial Aid

British policy was now directed towards building up an association of western Powers which would at the same time organize their joint defence against future aggression and make possible their combined economic recovery with the aid of American dollars. Rapid progress in this direction was made during 1948.

In March a military and economic pact was signed at Brussels by Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and by the end of the year its execution had progressed as far as the military side as the setting up of a joint General Staff under Field-Marshal Montgomery, and agreement on common equipment, training, and armament for the forces of the five signatory Powers.

In April the United States Congress passed the legislation needed to turn George Marshall's plan into a European Recovery Programme which envisaged providing some seventeen thousand million dollars within the next four years, and the recipient States formed an Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



THE AGE OF PREFABS

Little or no private building had been carried out for more than six years. A million homes or more had been destroyed or seriously damaged by bombing. The housing problem was acute, not only in the heavily bombed areas, but in almost every town in Great Britain. A short-term partial solution of the problem was found in the use of prefabricated dwellings. One of the leaders in this movement was the Cheltenham Corporation. In just over eleven months an estate of 173 aluminium houses was completed and occupied. A feature of the scheme was the laying of all services to the estate in one main trench, with enormous saving of labour. This general view shows the estate soon after completion towards the end of 1946.

In June the British and United States Governments, who had agreed to set up a new German State, carried out a currency reform in their zones of occupation as a necessary preliminary to German economic recovery. The Russians' reply to this was to refuse to allow the western Powers to cross the Russian Zone to reach the sectors of Berlin for which they were responsible. If Britain and the United States had not answered this by an air-lift carrying food and all necessary supplies to the Berliners, they would have been forced to evacuate the German capital and to leave the non-Communists of Berlin to the tender mercies of the Russians.

Three and a half years after the defeat of Hitlerism the world was still in a state of neither peace nor war, and the tension between Russia and the West was growing increasingly acute. The only positive sign of peace-settlement was the association of

western Powers which already involved closer economic and military combination than had ever before been achieved by sovereign States except in time of war.

The British people did not need to be taught after the Second World War that peace does not bring prosperity; they had learned that lesson by experience after the first. The second war had cost less in human life than the first (337,000 deaths occurred in the armed forces of the British Commonwealth and Empire in 1939-45, compared with 996,000 in 1914-18), but in other respects it had cost a great deal more. Over four and a half million houses in Britain had been damaged by German bombing, and it must be many years before the arrears in building could be made up. The industrial plant which had been over-worked during the war could be turned over to peacetime production, but many of the machines were old and worn out;

a great deal of the capital equipment of the country needed renewal. The cost in human exhaustion had been heavier than in 1914-18, partly because the second war had lasted longer and had brought Britain into greater peril, partly because the people had been more completely mobilized for national service alike in arms, civil defence, and employment. In money the cost had been vastly heavier; the Government had spent £27,000 million on war purposes. The nation had lost most of its overseas assets, for Britain's investments abroad had been sold to buy food and the materials of war; even so, there was an outstanding debt of over £3,000 million to overseas countries.

Britain could not pay even for the reduced amounts of foodstuff and materials which she needed to import after the war. There was no longer any considerable revenue from financial services or foreign investments; there was little to be earned by the mercantile marine which had suffered so severely in the war; the only way of paying for the necessary imports was by exports, and before those two could balance Britain would have to export a volume of goods half as large again as before 1939. It was obviously impossible for Britain to produce immediately enough goods, and enough goods of the right kind, to export in exchange for imports. Britain emerged from the war dependent on the United States.

The End of Lend-Lease

When the German war was ending it was believed that the flow of food and other imports from the United States under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act would continue for some time, but the death of Roosevelt in April, 1945, and the surprisingly sudden ending of the Japanese war in August, put an end to that expectation. Once hostilities were over, the United States Government called an end to Lend-Lease, as it had every right to do. This was a severe blow for the British Government, which had no alternative but to beg a loan from the United States. Early in 1946 Britain received a loan of 3,750 million dollars.

It was reckoned that this would be enough to tide Britain over until the early

1950s, by which time the country should have recovered sufficiently to be self-supporting, but these calculations were upset by a number of factors. The unexpectedly slow recovery of west European economy and the necessity of sending food and other supplies to the British zone of Germany added to Britain's burden. The sudden rise of prices in America, where wartime controls had been lifted, meant that the dollars would buy less than had been anticipated, and in effect reduced the loan by one-third. An unprecedentedly cold winter in 1946-47 led to a shortage of coal in Britain, a shortage which meant the closing down of factories for a fortnight and a consequent drop in the production of goods for export. Britain, which normally exported some fifty million tons of coal a year, was reduced to importing coal, and importing it from America at fabulously high prices, to be paid for out of the dollar loan.

Britain's Economic Plight

In 1947 Britain found herself in as serious an economic position as the country had ever known. One of the conditions of the American loan was that the pound sterling should be made convertible by July, 1947. This meant that foreigners who had pounds could change them for dollars, and since everyone wanted dollars Britain had to draw on the loan at an ever-increasing pace. Withdrawals rose from one hundred and fifty million to three hundred million dollars a week during July and August, and even when the pound was made inconvertible again on 20 August the rate of withdrawal stayed high. By March, 1948, the loan was exhausted. Britain was still bankrupt and as much dependent as in 1945 on American aid.

The first annual instalment of the new American loan under the European Recovery Programme came to the rescue by assuring Britain of £315 million worth of indispensable dollar imports. There was at least a hope that by 1952 Britain would be sufficiently well equipped to be within sight of paying her way.

To meet the post-war crisis, it was necessary for the British people to turn to self-control and hard work. The rationing of food, clothes, petrol, paper, and other



THE EXPORT DRIVE

This is the scene at Tilbury Docks, where an ex-tank landing craft, the Empire Baltic, was being loaded with cars and lorries for shipment to the continent. This vessel and others like it carried nearly 200 vehicles which were driven straight on board, thus saving time and cost normally incurred when vehicles are loaded by means of derricks. It also made possible delivery abroad of vehicles in running order. Thus was Britain's export drive accelerated.

materials was not only maintained but in many respects tightened up and extended after the war. Bread and potatoes, which had been unrationed and available in abundant supply throughout the war years, were put on the ration in 1946, and the basic allowance of petrol for private cars on unessential journeys, which had been made available in 1945, was withdrawn in 1947. Building programmes were curtailed and the production of goods for home-consumers restricted. Indirect taxes were increased: with beer costing one shilling and twopence a pint, and cigarettes over twopence each, and the cheapest cinema seat a shilling, the man-in-the-street had to think twice before indulging himself. But self-control would have got nowhere without hard work, and in the exhausted and relaxed mood of 1945, when the working-week in some industries was cut down from forty-five hours to forty, it

seemed that this would not be forthcoming. In 1946, however, there was a slight improvement. The British people might still not be working hard, but at least they were losing little time in industrial disputes: for every day thus lost in 1946, seventeen days had been lost in 1919, the comparable year after the First World War. The real improvement came in 1947 and 1948, when there was a striking increase in output. By the end of 1948 Britain had reached her target of exporting a volume of goods 50 per cent greater than in 1938.

Meanwhile epoch-making changes had been taking place in the British Commonwealth and Empire. The Labour Government decided that the time had come to call an end to British rule in India. This decision may have been precipitated by Britain's post-war weakness and by the intention shown by leaders of Indian opinion during the war—especially in 1942, when a serious

rising was attempted—to be rid of the British, but it was the inevitable culmination of the policy which had been pursued by British governments of every party-complexion since 1917—of the diarchy of 1919, of the India Act of 1935, and of the offers which Churchill's government had sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India to make in 1942. It was announced in February, 1947, that all British forces would leave India not later than June, and to the surprise of many foreigners and of most of the people of India this promise was kept. Nothing in the history of Britain's rule of India, the Indian people were inclined to think, became her like the leaving of it. Certainly it was the first instance in history of a European Power giving up an empire before it was forced to.

Independence for India and Pakistan

The British Government hoped that the Indians would set up a single State, but the rift between Hindus and Moslems was too great for this, and two separate States were set up in the sub-continent; a Moslem State called Pakistan with territories in the north-east and in the north-west, and a larger State consisting mainly of Hindus which took the name of India. Pakistan and India had the choice between breaking all connexion with the British Crown or becoming Dominions. Both chose the latter. Burma, given the same choice, decided to break the connexion and was recognized as a sovereign republic, completely detached from the British Crown, in 1947. Ceylon, on the other hand, became a Dominion.

The British Commonwealth had now completely changed its complexion. Instead of there being four Dominions inhabited largely by people of British stock—though in Canada the French formed a large minority and in South Africa the majority were Bantu—there were now seven, and the vast majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth were members of coloured races. The peoples of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon made up five-sevenths of the population of the Commonwealth. In these circumstances it was absurd to call the Commonwealth "British," and the adjective was dropped.

Even the dropping of the adjective was

not enough to keep southern Ireland in the Commonwealth. The Irish Free State was technically a Dominion, but when de Valera became Prime Minister in 1932 he refused to take the oath to the King, and in 1937 a new Constitution was adopted under which the Free State that had been a British Dominion ceased to exist and a new independent State came into being, officially entitled "Eire, or in the English language, Ireland." Whether Ireland was still part of the Commonwealth or not was a nice point for lawyers, but her separation from Britain was marked by her remaining neutral during the Second World War, and in 1948 the Irish Parliament repealed the last vestiges of legal connexion with the British Crown, and Ireland became an independent Republic. Not the least "Irish" part of all this was that relations between the British and Irish people were closer and more friendly in the decade after 1937, and relations between the Governments of the two countries more cordial at the time of the constitutional breach in 1948, than they had ever been before.

End of British Imperialism

The post-war years marked the end of British Imperialism in many parts of the world. Everywhere the between-war policy of converting the Empire into a family of self-governing communities was accelerated by Britain's need to restrict her commitments in view of her decreased power of defending the overseas outposts. Nowhere was this resignation from imperialism more marked than in the Middle East. Egypt was assured that all British troops would be removed from her territories. Transjordan was recognized as an independent State in 1946, and a similar recognition would no doubt have been extended to Palestine if the inhabitants of that country had been able to agree on a form of government. But the Arabs had always claimed that Palestine should be an Arab State, and the Jews were now declaring openly that it should be a Jewish State. The obvious solution, recommended by the Peel Commission in 1937 and by a United Nations Committee in 1947, was that Palestine should be divided into two States, but neither Arabs nor Jewish extremists would accept this, and it was clear that the



AN INDIAN CABINET IS SWORN IN

The date on which the new Dominion of India officially came into existence was 15 August, 1947. This is the scene at Government House, New Delhi, when the members of the Pandit Nehru Cabinet were sworn in. The picture shows the only woman member of the Cabinet with Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the last Viceroy. Lady Mountbatten is standing on the dais to the right. Thus ended a long period of civil discord in India and the symbolic beginning of a new epoch in which India took its place with the other Commonwealth countries.

partition-solution would have to be imposed by force. This the British Government refused to do. Britain handed over her responsibilities in Palestine to the United Nations, relinquishing her Mandate in May, 1948, and withdrawing the last of her troops in July. War between Arabs and Jews thereupon broke out in the Holy Land. All the United Nations could do was to negotiate truces which were broken again and again. At the end of 1948 the greater part of Palestine was in the hands of the Jews, who had constituted a State

called Israel, and fighting was still going on.

In the British colonial Empire, which now lay chiefly in tropical Africa, in the West Indies, and in Malaya, a new policy was adopted. It must be some time before the natives of these colonies could be ready for self-government, and meanwhile the first necessity was to improve their social and economic conditions. A series of grants for "Welfare and Development" were promised by the British Government, the first in 1940 and others on a much larger scale after the war. An Overseas Resources

Development Bill was put forward in 1947 to enable private undertakings in the colonies to borrow £110 million. The Labour Government gave a new turn to this policy by initiating at enormous expense a scheme for the cultivation of ground-nuts in East Africa, but whether this would redound to the advantage of the natives or to that of European consumers, or, as the intention was, of both, was still uncertain in 1948. It was clear by then that, by the old methods of cultivation, the world could not produce enough food for its increasing population, and there was some confusion between the ideals of native self-government and of exploitation by the Western Powers, which alone could provide the capital and equipment for new methods.

Nationalization of Industry

The Government which came into office in Britain after the elections of July, 1945, was the first Labour Government that had ever commanded a safe majority in the House of Commons. This, then, was the first opportunity for carrying out the Socialist programme, and the Government was determined to take full advantage of it. Pre-election promises included the bringing under public ownership of the Bank of England, the fuel and power industries, inland transport, and the iron and steel industry. Most of these promises were fulfilled by the end of 1948. The Bank of England was brought under the State in 1945, the railway companies were amalgamated into a single State-owned organization known as British Railways, the coal industry was taken over by the State and re-organized under a National Coal Board. All this aroused little opposition from the Conservatives in Parliament or from the leaders of private enterprise in the country: they saw that it was inevitable and were prepared, with more or less good grace, to operate the new system in collaboration with the trade-union leaders who were rapidly becoming the new ruling class. Only when the Bill for the nationalization of the leading firms in the steel industry came before Parliament in 1948 was there serious opposition. The Government had left the Steel Bill too late to be carried over the opposition of the House of Lords,

which, under the Parliament Act of 1911, might exercise a suspensive veto for two years—and by that time the next elections might have led to the fall of the Labour Government. The Government, therefore, determined to rush through Parliament a Bill to reduce the Lord's suspensive veto to one year.

A New System in Britain

A new system was emerging from these Socialist reforms in Britain. It was not Socialism, because the greater part of industry and commerce was left in private hands; and it was not Capitalism because, in addition to the few industries which had been nationalized, almost every section of economic activity was to some extent under Government control. What was being evolved was a partnership between the State and private enterprise and between the employers and the employees organized in trade unions—a system which was as different from the totalitarian Socialism of the Soviet Union as it was from the Capitalism of the United States, and yet was not a compromise between the two but a peculiarly British development arising out of British tendencies of the past century and more.

Indeed, the most important reforms applied by this first effective Socialist Government were along lines which had already been mapped out and agreed by the Coalition Government under Winston Churchill. In education, for instance, the business of the Labour Government was to apply the Act of 1944, the main provisions of which were for the essential raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen and for compulsory part-time education to the age of eighteen. This would need an immense amount of new building for which there was neither material nor labour in the year immediately following the war. It would also need the recruitment and training of hundreds of thousands of additional teachers. The Labour Government raised the minimum school-leaving age to fifteen in 1947, and set up a number of improvised Emergency Training Colleges in which potential teachers could be rushed through a training at the State's expense in one year. More than that it could not do in the circumstances of



NATIONALIZATION OF THE MINES

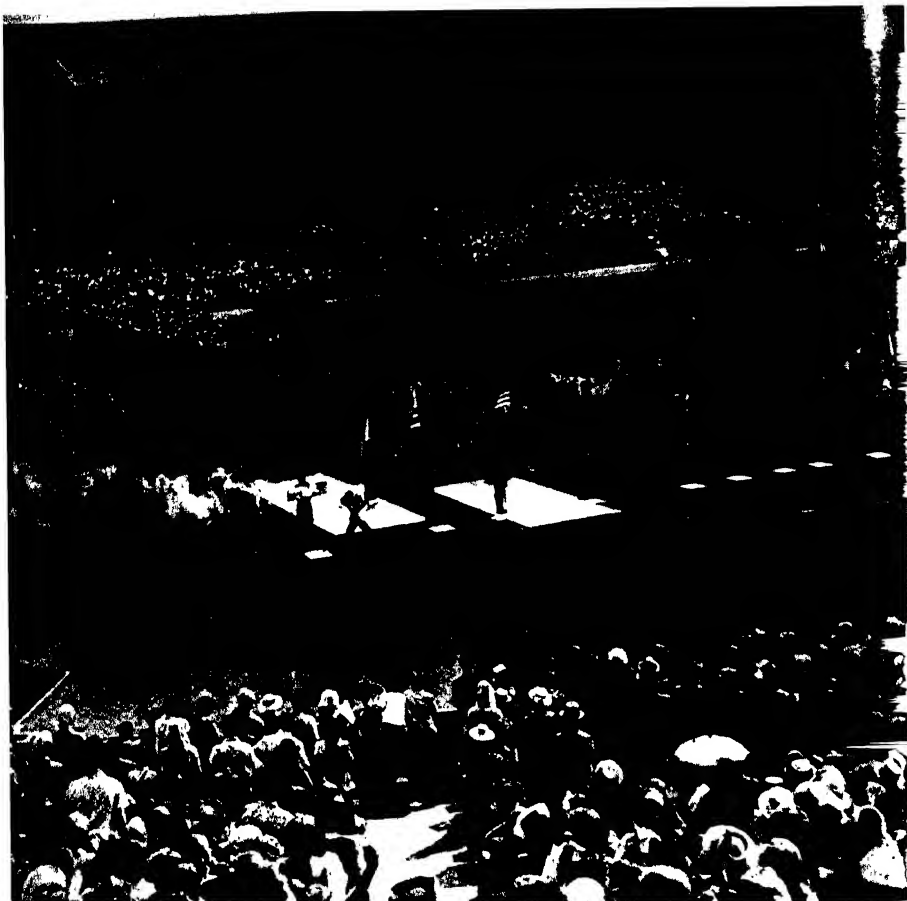
The post-war Labour Government made nationalization one of the features of its policy—and that in spite of having only a modest majority in the country at large. The first great step was formally taken on 1 January, 1947, when the coal-mining industry was taken over by the National Coal Board. This photograph shows miners at the Williamthorpe Colliery, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire, reading the notice posted to declare the change of management, now said to be "on behalf of the people."

1945–48. Perhaps the most striking educational development of those years was not so much in the schools as in the universities. They were expanded to admit double the 1939 number of students, most of whom were supported through their university career by grants from local or central government.

There were still two systems of education. Expensive private preparatory and public schools for the children of the well-to-do still flourished side by side with the primary and secondary schools for the masses, but the standard of these latter was being rapidly improved, and at Oxford and Cambridge the sons and daughters of the rich no longer predominated. Britain was within sight of secondary education for all and university education for all who could demonstrably profit by it.

In other fields of social service a sweeping reform was made by the National Insurance

Act of 1948, which was the outcome not only of Socialist policy but of all-party discussions during the war and of a report which Lord Beveridge had produced in 1942 at the request of the Coalition Government. Under this Act a comprehensive range of services and pensions, including medical services and increased unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, was made available to the whole population irrespective of income, this to be paid for by employed persons in compulsory premia ranging from 2s. 3d. to 6s. 2d. a week. The provision of free medical services involved a re-organization of the medical professions, and after some resistance on the part of doctors and dentists, who had understandable qualms about coming under an increasing degree of State-control, this was done. By the end of 1948 the majority of doctors and dentists were spending their time not with



THE FOURTEENTH OLYMPIAD OPENED IN LONDON

Here the Olympic torch is being carried into Wembley Stadium to mark the opening of the fourteenth Olympiad on 29 July, 1948. There had been no contest since that in Berlin in 1936, so that this successful meeting of 1948 seemed to many to have a greater than usual significance as marking the resumption of normal life after the cataclysm of war.

fee-paying patients but with insured persons who could now for the first time obtain, in addition to free attention and treatment, all the costly drugs, dentures, and medical appliances of which a qualified practitioner might consider them to be in need.

The Labour Government was perhaps remarkable not so much for the Socialist reforms which it initiated or for the all-party reforms, especially in education and other social services, which it hastened and extended, as for the way it maintained

certain emergency measures of the wartime governments. The subsidizing of the price of foodstuffs, for instance, was maintained after the war, at the cost of £392 millions a year to the taxpayer. This kept the price of essential goods down to a level at which everyone could afford to buy the full ration, and since no one, however much he could afford to pay, could legally buy more than the full ration, the available essential foodstuffs were evenly distributed. The poor in the urban districts who had obtained more milk and butter during the

war than they had been able to afford in the old days of the free market, were still adequately fed, and the health of the working-class mothers and children, which had improved during the war, continued to improve during the first postwar years.

It was the same with clothing, housing, and other necessities. By maintaining the system of restrictions adopted in the emergency of war, the Labour Government equalized distribution to the advantage of the working-class. By keeping a purchase-tax on all but cheap "utility" types of clothing, for instance, the Government in effect subsidized the wardrobe of the poor at the expense of the well-to-do. By continuing to forbid all building except on licence, the Government was able to direct such materials and labour as were available for dwelling-houses to the building in the first place of council houses designed for letting at uneconomic rents to working-class families.

The people grumbled at the maze of restrictions, licences, quotas, and other impedimenta of control, but comparing the Britain of the three years after the First World War with that of three years after the second, there was no doubt which was preferable. Then there had been a million and a half registered workers unemployed and a scandalous ostentation of war-profiteers. Now there was full employment and a condition of society which, if austere, left the majority of the population confident of fairly rapid improvement.

Restrictions in one form or another were now common to almost every nation. Every nation, of whatever ideology, was

moving toward a conception that was called the Welfare State or the Social Service State. What was peculiar to the United Kingdom was the smoothness and fairness with which those restrictions worked. Nowhere else in Europe was there so little ill-feeling between the social classes, nowhere was there such a narrow gap between the privileged and the unprivileged. In the class-less Soviet Union and the other countries under Communist control there was a vast difference between the privileges, not to speak of the income, of those who were in ruling positions and those who were not. In the democratic France of the Fourth Republic there was little that money could not buy or influence procure. In Britain, where so many of the historic trappings of privilege had been preserved—the Monarchy and the House of Lords, hereditary titles and public schools—the condition by any comparison was one of harmony and of equality, of continuity and respect for law.

In many respects it was a new Britain that emerged, victorious and chastened, from the Second World War. The nineteenth-century supremacy was acknowledged to be gone. The old optimistic view of inevitable progress and probable peace was questioned. Socialism, at least in the limited sense of State control, was known to have come to stay. Yet in other and more profound respects it was not a new Britain at all, but the old Britain adapting itself to the new conditions in closer continuity with its own past and with more respect for its own history than almost any other country in the world.

Test Yourself

1. How are Hitler's triumphs in the early part of the war to be accounted for?
2. What was the importance of the Battle of Britain?
3. Compare the plans for peace settlement made during the Second World War with those made during the first.
4. What were the main objects of British foreign policy between 1945 and 1949?

Answers will be found at the end of the book.

GUIDE TO FURTHER STUDY

Part 3—1600 to the Present Day

From the end of the Elizabethan era there is an increasing number of links with the great events which compose Britain's historic panorama. A few examples will make the point clearer. In studying the course of the Great Civil War it is helpful to visit some of the most important battlefields and reconstruct the deployment of the troops and the course of the engagement. In many cases a monument has been set up to mark some central or specially important point in the battle, as for instance at Marston Moor outside York, or at Chalgrove in Oxfordshire. Charles himself is said to have stood on the walls of Chester to watch the course of one of the critical battles in the war. The student can do the same in imagination, with all the more interest and profit if he first arms himself with a fairly full account of the battle in question. A visit to Edge Hill near Kington on the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire will make the course of that important battle much clearer.

Then again the hand of Oliver Cromwell the Protector is seen in the mouldering ruins of so many castles, for in Cromwell's eyes it was the medieval castles, refurbished and refortified, which had proved the chief obstacle to more rapid success over the Royalist forces. Cromwell therefore ordered that all should be slighted, i.e. stripped of their roofs and battlements, so that they could never again act as bases or withstand a siege.

In London's Whitehall there remains the Banqueting Hall of the Palace of Whitehall, one of the supreme triumphs of the architect Inigo Jones. There one can see the very window from which Charles is said to have stepped on to the scaffold which had been erected in the roadway outside the Banqueting Hall.

There are signs, too, of the influence of the civil war and the Commonwealth which followed in the thousands of empty niches by church porches and in the ornamental

façades of many other churches—niches today empty where formerly there were figurines of the saints, which were destroyed under the stern Puritan régime of the Commonwealth, when anything which maintained the flavour of the orthodox church was ruthlessly destroyed, when it was not thought undignified for Cromwell's men to use the precincts of Canterbury Cathedral as their living quarters and the Cathedral itself as a stable for their horses.

From now on, too, statues help to recreate the personality of the various kings and queens and of famous men who have helped to shape history. There is still an annual pilgrimage for wreath laying to the statue of Charles I at the head of Whitehall on the anniversary of his execution. There is a fine statue of William of Orange on the water-front at Brixham where he landed to take over the throne of England from James II, when the latter fled the country to avoid a second civil war. Others in almost every part of the country are too numerous to list in this brief study guide.

The Jacobean rising of 1745, the ill-fated effort of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" to seize the throne, is illustrated by a series of landmarks, so that it is possible to follow precisely in the footsteps of his retreating army through Scotland to Fort William and through the Great Glen to the final battle on the slopes of Culloden, where a vast cairn was set up in memory of the fallen Highlanders. A visit to the Inverness museum will reveal scores of interesting links with the Young Pretender, many of them throwing a vivid light on the dress and manners of the times.

That fact gives the key to another fruitful source of study of the changing times. Almost every large town has its museum, which contains interesting links with many stages in the town's history, including early documents and manuscripts. In some particularly well-equipped museums, such as those of Canterbury and Norwich, it is

possible through the medium of the exhibits to follow the history of the city from the earliest times to the present day and re-construct many facets not only of the changing fortunes of the place but of the country as a whole.

Here and there some striking landmark is a reminder of a historic fact of perhaps only local significance. An example is the figure of George III mounted on a horse cut out of the white chalk of the downs above Weymouth, a reminder of the fact that this flourishing watering place of today owes its prosperity, almost, one might say, its very existence, to the patronage of that English King.

Coastal Fortifications

At a rather later time the disquiet of the country at the threat of invasion by Napoleon's army from France is illuminated by the lines of ugly Martello towers along the south-east coast. It is perhaps as well that these curious structures of defence were never put to the test. Although they were designed as strong points from which to fire on invaders, a determined attacking force would probably have overcome them without difficulty. It is instructive to contrast them with the Forts of the Saxon Shore built nearly 1,500 years before to protect the same coastline from the same kind of threat. Wars and rumours of wars have certainly left more than their quota of landmarks along the south-east coast. The downs between Folkestone and Deal and between Eastbourne and Brighton are still scarred with the gun emplacements set up during the First World War and the remains of the anti-aircraft batteries which guarded the coast during the Second World War.

Another way of recapturing the spirit of various periods in more recent history is by reading about them in the works of well-known novelists. One must remember, however, that since Victorian days many novelists have been propagandists. The pictures they paint, though coloured by their own convictions, are none the less illuminating. Charles Dickens may have been fired by zeal to draw to the attention of his contemporaries the appalling conditions of slum dwellers, but the light he throws in *David Copperfield* on London,

Chatham and Canterbury is nevertheless a vivid one and full of interest for the historical student.

The pages of good historical novels such as those of Scott also help to re-create the atmosphere of various periods in our history, though it is wise to master at least the salient facts of the period before approaching a historical novel. For one reason, a knowledge of the facts gives added piquancy to the novelist's descriptions, secondly the novelist's, sometimes deliberate, sometimes unconscious, misrepresentations are seen for what they are.

All the lines of study allied with normal recreational activities such as reading and travelling which have been listed above are undeniably useful. The more advanced the student, the more useful they become. Nevertheless as in the earlier period of British history it is probably true that the most fertile ground is that which can be explored by studying the relationship between architecture and social life. The accent in the period 1600-1900 has changed completely as compared with the earlier period.

The Reformation

The Reformation put a stop to church building on the grand scale, after which until very recent times church building was only carried out when it was necessary to replace a decayed structure or, as in the case of London, when some great fire had destroyed existing ones. The Reformation equally put an effective stop to the building of abbeys, priories, friaries and other religious foundations. In many cases the abbey buildings were left deserted after the monastic orders had been ejected. Their stonework was used to build new houses or to pave the roads. In a few cases, as in that of the most illustrious of all the English abbeys, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, parts of the religious buildings were adapted to form a royal palace.

The development of castles is no longer an integral part of our study. As has been noted above, the majority of medieval castles were destroyed or damaged beyond repair at the end of the great civil war. After that no castles in the medieval sense of the term were built again. Even the castellated manor house, the manor house

built to look like a castle, such as Hurstmonceux in Sussex, which had been popular in the fifteenth century and to some extent in the sixteenth, fell out of favour. Some castles were transformed into private residences and retained some semblance of their earlier fortifications. But in the majority of cases houses built from 1600 onward were built solely and simply as houses, whether for the labourer, the growing middle class, or for the aristocracy. They varied enormously in size, less so in style, but the idea of a castle as residence disappeared entirely, only to be revived with dramatic suddenness in the nineteenth century, when the Scottish baronial style, of which Balmoral was a supreme example, became wildly popular and produced a crop of bastard castles from one end of the country to the other. The mock castle became equally a feature of the English scene and to a lesser extent of Wales, though by the beginning of the twentieth century that eccentricity of building had once more lapsed.

Changes in Rural Houses

The most significant thing that can be learned from seventeenth-century architecture is how very much better the poorer people were housed than they had been in earlier centuries. Before the Tudor period individual homes for the labourers in the countryside, as for the poorer classes in the towns, were rudimentary in the extreme. From the reign of King Henry VII an improvement began to which the beautiful half-timbered and thatched cottages of Tudor and Elizabethan times are silent witnesses. Yet even in the Merrie England of Queen Elizabeth rural housing was still in its infancy. Many of the people lived in single-room structures little better than hovels.

One of the best social contributions of the Commonwealth (at the instance of Oliver Cromwell himself) was the provision of adequate cottages for the country people. The great number of Cromwellian cottages, especially in south-eastern England, standing today are ample testimony to how well this object was achieved. Many have said, and rightly said, that the appearance of these rather four-square unvarnished cottages is not comparable with that of their

Elizabethan counterparts. One doubts, however, whether the people for whom they were built really cared whether they lived in a house beautiful. All they needed was accommodation, with separate rooms for sleeping and living in. The Cromwellian cottages certainly gave that, and in addition a solidity of construction which has defied the ravages of time and weather.

Classicism and Christopher Wren

Classicism in architecture—the adoption of the building ideas of the Renaissance—had made some headway before the death of Queen Elizabeth. From Jacobean times it became dominant and after the Restoration was adopted for all types of houses, big and small. It was, in fact, soon after the Restoration that the Renaissance style was brought to its full development in England under the guidance of the greatest of the English Renaissance architects, Sir Christopher Wren. The fire of London in 1666 gave Wren his opportunity, for he was one of the commissioners appointed to advise on the reconstruction and was responsible for the building of many of modern London's finest churches, including the new St. Paul's Cathedral. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, incidentally, is the finest possible commentary on the life and times of this period, while the Diary of John Evelyn gives another equally authentic side of the picture.

Wren was more than the re-creator of English church architecture. He set a perfection of style which influenced buildings of every kind for the following two hundred years. His work in secular building is perhaps best illustrated by the "new" building of Hampton Court Palace, which he was commissioned to enlarge for William and Mary and provides the happiest of all juxtapositions between two contrasting styles—the old Tudor buildings of Wolsey's palace and his own conception of the Garden Front and of the grand landscape gardening scheme, including the Long Water, of which the new Palace formed a part.

Houses in Chichester and many other towns and cities are attributed with doubtful authenticity to Wren. Probably the majority of so-called Wren houses are the work of his pupils and imitators. They are a tribute

to his popular esteem and to the influence which he exercised.

The two university cities of Oxford and Cambridge are the storehouses of more historical architecture on the grand scale than any other place in Britain. There is the same juxtaposition of Tudor and Renaissance in Christ Church, Oxford, as there is at Hampton Court. The detail of college buildings (which is equally applicable to large country houses) can be studied minutely in these two cities in which the whole period is spanned from 1600 to the present day.

Georgian England

When we come to Georgian England the accent changes from the study of individual houses to that of the new science of town planning. The fantastic pile of Blenheim Palace, the work of Sir John Vanbrugh, may be regarded as the best or, as taste dictates, the worst of what the eighteenth century could achieve in terms of mansions. Far more typical of the age are the pleasant four-square classically-adorned but medium-sized houses which survive in most English towns. The family resemblance between these, with their rectangular windows and the early classical structures, such as Bess of Hardwick's Hardwick Hall, is obvious at first glance. But, as ever, the English tradition is superimposed on the foreign style with a most pleasing and restrained effect. The growing wealth and sumptuousness of the age are represented by the house interior, with its development of panelling from the plain linenfold type to most elaborate and ornate forms. They are represented equally by the increasing elaboration of ceilings, with plaster ornament of growing complexity, and by furniture which has an increasing trend toward comfort while showing a definite advance in the art of wood-carving and in workmanship.

English craftsmen have always excelled in wood carving. In the Middle Ages no country in the world could show workmanship superior to that of the angel roofs of East Anglian churches. At the full flowering of the Renaissance Grinling Gibbons was an admirable foil to Sir Christopher Wren. In the Georgian home carved and decorated furniture was in

keeping with the rest of the structure. Architects were becoming more interested in decoration schemes, so that the brothers Adam, who built London's old Adelphi, are as well known for their schemes of interior decoration as for their genius as architects. Robert Adam, the most distinguished of four brothers, may be said to have perfected the design of the English room with his unified treatment of fireplaces, mantelpieces and ceilings.

Georgian England saw the growth of many residential towns, including Brighton, Bath and Cheltenham and not least of London. In most of the old towns one can trace the outward growth through the centuries up to Georgian times. In this period the growth is often so rapid that it swamps perspective and gives the impression that the whole town is Georgian in origin and execution. Bath is a case in point. This most outstanding example of Georgian town planning was the work of the architects Woods, father and son, who designed the great number of pleasing crescents and squares which make up Georgian Bath. It is, however, quite incorrect to regard Bath as an exclusively Georgian town. The remains of the Roman baths and the medieval abbey, to name only two examples, correct the false impression immediately.

In London the architect Nash was responsible at the beginning of the nineteenth century (the Regency period) for the town planning of the Regent's Park area, including the most attractive streets and houses on the south side of the park linked with the new Regent Street, which he also designed

Looking Toward Victoriana

Yet architecture at this time had not reached a position of stability. The strongly Baroque influence of the Prince Regent himself is well seen in Brighton's Pavilion, with what William Cobbett called "the inverted turnips of the domes." This indeed is an eccentricity of design which looks forward to the wild apparitions of Victoria's reign.

The year 1820 is often said to mark the end of English architecture. Certainly the long reign of Queen Victoria produced little that was memorable or attractive. It is remembered chiefly for the railway terraces and the long rows of houses in the suburbs

which represented the unimaginative solidity of the times. The Gothic and classical revivals in the nineteenth century were nostalgic reachings out after the glories of the past. The classical town halls and the Gothic churches (still more the classical churches) never came within reach of the pinnacles of the past. They remained self-conscious revivals and have taken their place in the hotch-potch of Victoriana.

Prince Albert himself did not lack imagination, though his expression of it in terms of architecture was scarcely felicitous, as witness the castle of Balmoral and the church of Whippingham. (The Albert Hall in London, of course, was built as a memorial to him after his death.) Even so, Prince Albert's name is associated with the first real experiment in a new form of architecture, the Crystal Palace, which proved the forerunner of modern trends in

the use of steel and concrete, with the aesthetic accent on contrasting masses. What can be achieved by this revolution in materials, this essentially twentieth-century technique, is illustrated by London's Battersea Power Station and Shell Mex House, and in a different sphere by the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Liverpool.

The spirit of the twentieth century is better expressed in terms of architecture than any other century, with its strange uncertainty, its "by-pass Tudor" villas, its functional prefabs, its towering blocks of flats, and its occasional eccentricity on the grand scale. It remains to be seen how far the Fine Arts Commission and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning will modify the obvious tendencies of the age so as to achieve in the rebuilding of English towns and cities a style which is at once functional and tasteful.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

General Histories

H. A. L. FISHER: *An Introductory History of England and Europe from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.*

W. P. HALL and R. G. ALBION: *A History of England and the British Empire.*

G. M. TREVELYAN: *A Shortened History of England.*

ANDRE MAUROIS: *A History of England.*
And to help in planning further reading:

F. J. WEAVER: *The Material of English History.*

More Detailed Political Histories

The most up-to-date political history is:

G. N. CLARK, editor: *The Oxford History of England.*

G. DAVIES: *The Early Stuarts, 1603-60.*

G. N. CLARK: *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714.*

B. WILLIAMS: *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-50.*

E. WOODWARD: *The Age of Reform, 1815-70.*

R. C. K. ENSOR: *England, 1870-1914.*

General Social and Economic Histories

E. CRESSY: *A Brief Sketch of Social and Industrial History.*

G. M. TREVELYAN: *Illustrated English Social History.*

E. D. SPEED: *A Social and Industrial History of England.*

M. BRIGGS: *Economic History of England.*

A. B. LOCK: *The Story of British Industry from the Beginnings to the Present Day.*

The History of Particular Industries

R. L. GALLOWAY: *Annals of Coal Mining and the Coal Trade.*

T. S. ASHTON: *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution.*

D. L. BURN: *Economic History of Steel-making, 1867-1939.*

T. H. BURNHAM and G. O. HOSKINS: *Iron and Steel in Britain, 1870-1930.*

E. CRESSY: *A Hundred Years of Mechanical Engineering.*

H. W. DICKINSON: *A Short History of the Steam Engine.*

J. BURNLEY: *History of Wool and Wool-combing.*

J. HORNER: *The Linen Trade in Europe.*

C. GILL: *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry.*

G. W. DANIELS: *The Early English Cotton Industry.*

T. WOODHOUSE and A. BRAND: *A Century's Progress in Jute Manufacture, 1833-1933.*

A. H. HARD: *The Story of Rayon and other Synthetic Textiles.*

Transport

A. J. H. GOODWIN: *Communication Has Been Established.*

- C. WISE: *The Story of Transport*.
 CHARLES HADFIELD: *British Canals*.
 L. T. C. ROLT: *The Inland Waterways of England*.
 RIXON BUCKNALL: *Our Railway History*. 2nd edn.
 BARRINGTON TATFORD: *The Story of British Railways*.
 C. D. CAMPBELL: *British Railways in Boom and Depression . . . 1878-1930*.
 M. A. LEWIS: *Ships and Seamen of Britain*.
 L. M. BATES: *The Merchant Service*.

Particular Social and Economic Topics

- H. J. MASSINGHAM: *The English Countryman*.
 C. S. ORWIN: *Farms and Fields*.
 R. E. PROTHERO: *English Farming, Past and Present*.
 W. HUNT: *Growth and Development of the English Town*.
 G. PARSLOE: *The English Country Town*.
 EDMUND BLUNDEN: *English Villages*.
 THOMAS BURKE: *English Inns*.
 V. SACKVILLE WEST: *English Country Houses*.
 E. W. WATSON: *The Church of England*.
 THE ENGLISH CHURCH: The volumes in this series covering this period are:
 W. H. FRERE: *In the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*.
 W. H. HUTTON: *From Charles I to Anne*.
 J. H. OVERTON and F. RELTON: *From George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century*.
 F. W. CORNISH: *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*.
 E. A. PAYNE: *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England*.
 R. LENNARD: *Englishmen at Rest and Play*. Some aspects of English leisure between 1558 and 1714.
 F. A. WALBANK: *The English Scene in the Works of Prose-Writers since 1700*.
 A. E. RICHARDSON: *Georgian England*. A Survey of social life, trades, industries and art from 1700 to 1820.
 R. B. POWELL: *The English Child in the Eighteenth Century*.
 G. M. YOUNG: *Victorian England*.
 G. A. SAMBROOK: *English Life in the Eighteenth (Nineteenth) Century*. 2 vols.
 W. W. ROSTOW: *British Economy of the Nineteenth Century*.
 H. C. BARNARD: *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944*.
 D. GARDNER: *English Girlhood at School*.

- C. G. ROBERTSON: *The British Universities*.
 B. TRUSCOT: *Red Brick University*.
 H. POTTER: *A Short Outline of English Legal History*.
 M. W. THOMAS: *The Early Factory Legislation*.
 R. R. FORMOY: *The Historical Foundation of Modern Company Law*.
 B. C. HUNT: *The Development of the Business Corporation in England, 1800-1867*. (Harvard Economic Studies, vol. 52).
 G. D. H. COLE: *Short History of the British Working Class Movement, 1789-1937*. 3 vols.
 R. W. POSTGATE: *A Pocket History of the English Working Class*.
 F. W. TICKNER: *Women in English Economic History*.
 A. C. PERCIVAL: *The English Miss Today and Yesterday*.
 J. A. DELMEGE: *Towards National Health; or Health and Hygiene in England from Roman to Victorian Times*.
 G. A. R. CALLENDER: *The Naval Side of British History*.

Scotland, Ireland and Wales

- I. I. GRANT: *The Economic History of Scotland*.
 J. N. WRIGHT and N. S. SNOODGRASS: *Scotland and Its People*.
 H. G. GRAHAM: *Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*.
 G. GRUB: *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*.
 A. R. MACEWEN: *History of the Church in Scotland*.
 A. MORGAN: *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*.
 F. E. EVANS: *Irish Heritage*. The landscape, the people and their work.
 J. F. BURKE: *Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland*.
 E. MACLYSAGHT: *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century*.
 G. O'BRIEN: *Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*.
 C. MAXWELL: *Country and Town Life in Ireland Under the Georges*.
 H. J. FLEURE: *Wales and Her People*.
 D. J. DAVIES: *Economic History of South Wales Prior to 1800*.
 A. N. DODD: *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales*.
 THOMAS REES: *History of Protestant Non-conformity in Wales*.

TIME CHART

	EVENTS IN BRITAIN	SOCIAL CHANGES
James I (1603-1625)	Death of Queen Elizabeth 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh imprisoned for plot against King 1603 Gunpowder Plot 1605 Government by the King without Parliament (1610-1614) Execution of Raleigh 1618 Lord Bacon High Chancellor (1618-1621)	England and Scotland united under one crown, but remain separate countries. Increasing influence of the Puritans at the expense of the Roman Catholic and Church parties. Reaction against idea of absolute monarchy. Prosperity of yeoman farmers increases. Monopolies given to companies instead of to individuals—later declared illegal by Parliament. Beginning of long struggle between King and Parliament.
Charles I (1625-1649)	Charles marries Henrietta Maria, Princess of France 1625 Duke of Buckingham assassinated 1627 Petition of Right 1628 Oliver Cromwell member of Commons 1629 William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, becomes King's chief adviser. Levy of Ship Money revived 1634 Charles crowned in Edinburgh. Scottish National Covenant 1638 Short Parliament 1640 Long Parliament 1640 Pym impeaches Strafford. Execution of Strafford 1641 Grand Remonstrance 1641 Civil War 1642 Battle of Marston Moor 1644 Execution of Laud 1645 Battle of Naseby 1645 King Charles handed over to Parliament by Scots 1646 Execution of the King 1649	Charles governs without Parliament 1629-1640. Public indignation at Star Chamber and illegal trials. Monopolies still granted, though previously declared illegal. London and most of southern England hostile to King—strong feeling on part of landowners against episcopacy. Increasing influence of Independents led by Oliver Cromwell. In spite of civil war this was a period of national prosperity.
The Commonwealth (1649-1660)	Council of State 1649 End of the Long Parliament 1653 Oliver Cromwell Protector 1653 Death of Cromwell 1658 Richard Cromwell Protector 1659	Great strides in rehousing the rural population. English replaces Latin as the language of legal documents
Charles II (1660-1685)	The Restoration 1660 The "Great Plague" 1665 Fire of London 1666 Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, impeached 1667 Declaration of Indulgence 1672 Habeas Corpus Act 1679 Rye House Plot 1683	Complete disappearance of Puritan influence after the Restoration. Non-conforming clergy deprived of their livings. Habeas Corpus Act proves foundation of civil rights. Rebuilding of London begins after the Great Fire.
James II (1685-1689)	James defeats Monmouth at Sedgemoor 1685 William of Orange lands in England 1688 James II flees to France 1688	
William III and Mary (1689-1694)	Declaration of Right 1689 Death of Queen Mary 1694	
William III (1694-1702)	Foundation of Bank of England 1694	Rise of the merchant class begins.

1601-1700

HIGHLIGHTS OF LITERATURE		CHIEF EVENTS ABROAD	INDUSTRY AND INVENTIONS
Bacon's Essays.		Foundation of Virginia 1607	
Authorized version of the Bible 1611		Louis XIII succeeds Henry IV (France) 1609	
Death of Shakespeare 1616		Thirty Years War begins 1618	
Ben Jonson, poet laureate 1619		Philip IV succeeds Philip III (Spain) 1621	
First publication of <i>The Weekly News</i> 1622		Britain declares war with Spain 1625	
		La Rochelle expedition 1627	Increase in woollen manufacture. Norwich chief centre of cloth-making
		Britain at war with France 1628	
		After a short time a treaty of alliance is signed directed against the common enemy, Spain	
		Alliance between Scotland and France 1640	Growth of industry in London district, most of north and west still undeveloped
		Discovery of Tasmania 1642	
		Louis XIV King of France 1643	
Milton's <i>Iconoclastes</i> 1650		Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	After defeating the Dutch at sea, Britain recovers much of European carrying trade.
Milton's Sonnets.		Defeat of Irish loyalists 1649	
		Charles II King of Scotland 1650	
		Charles takes refuge in France 1651	
		Britain declares war on Holland 1652	
Samuel Butler's <i>Hudibras</i> 1663		Britain defeats the Spanish Navy and captures Jamaica.	
<i>Paradise Lost</i> 1667		Charles II succeeds Philip IV (Spain) 1665	
Pepys' Diary.		War with Holland 1665-1667	
<i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> , by John Bunyan.			
Death of Milton 1674			
John Locke— <i>Essay on Human Understanding</i> .			
Dryden's <i>Alexander's Feast</i> 1697		War with France begins 1692	
		Battle of Namur and defeat of the French Army 1695	
		End of war with France 1697	

TIME CHART

	EVENTS AT HOME	SOCIAL CHANGES
William (until 1702)	The King forms a Tory Government, 1700. Act of Settlement, 1701.	
Queen Anne (1702-14)	Scottish Parliament passes Bill of Security, 1703. Union of England and Scotland, 1707. Dismissal of Duke of Marlborough, 1711.	Rise of Party Government—Whigs and Tories Rule by Cabinet representing the Crown from reign of Queen Anne.
George I (1714-27)	Hanoverian succession assured, 1714. Jacobite riots—Riot Act passed, 1715 Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, 1715. Battle of Sheriffmuir, 1715. Act of Indemnity, 1715. Septennial Act authorizes Parliament to sit for seven years, 1716. South Sea Bubble, 1720. Sir Robert Walpole first Prime Minister, 1721 Jacobite conspiracy led by Bishop of Rochester foiled, 1722. Publication of Drapier's Letters, 1724.	Marked leaning to advanced form of Protestantism. German Court of George I out of touch with popular feeling First silk-mill opened in Derby, 1719 Wave of speculation typified by South Sea Bubble scandal First movements for humanizing the penal code, 1720-40
George II (1727-60)	Sir Robert Walpole confirmed as Prime Minister, 1727. Proposal for excise taxes withdrawn, 1733 Bolingbroke resigns from politics, 1754 Porteous riots in Edinburgh, 1736. Walpole unwillingly sanctions declaration of war on Spain, 1739. Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, 1742 The King with the army in France, 1743 The "forty-five" rebellion, 1745. Prince Charles Edward rallies the Scottish clans, 1745. Prince Charles proclaimed Regent of Scotland in Perth, 1745. Battle of Prestonpans—Royalist defeat, 1745. Prince Charles reaches Derby, 1745. Duke of Cumberland commands Royalists, 1746. Battle of Culloden—end of the rebellion, 1746. Act for the pacification of the Highlands, 1747. Reformation of the Calendar, 1752.	Wesleyan Society formed in Oxford, 1730 Drill husbandry introduced, 1732 Popular opinion strongly in favour of war with Spain, 1739 Agricultural revolution led by "turnip" Townshend, 1730-50. Rotation of crops assures better agricultural economy. Expansion of metal industries in Birmingham and Sheffield, 1740-50. Pit coal substituted for charcoal in smelting, 1740. Heyday of the stage coach, 1725-50. Drift from the land begins as industry expands. Expansion of the Lancashire cotton industry begins.

1700-1750

EVENTS ABROAD

Louis XIV supports claims of Stuarts to English succession, 1701.
War in France—Duke of Marlborough victorious over French, 1702.

Battle of Blenheim, 1704
Capture of Gibraltar, 1704
Battle of Ramillies, 1706
Marlborough victorious at Oudenarde capture of Lille, 1708
Battle of Malplaquet, 1709
Russia, Poland and Denmark at war with Sweden —Battle of Pultava, 1709
Treaty of Utrecht—end of French war, 1713

Frederick William Emperor of Prussia (from 1713)
Death of Louis XIV, 1715 Accession of Louis XV
Death of King Charles XII of Sweden, former supporter of Jacobites, 1718
Defeat of Spanish fleet by Admiral Byng, 1718
Quadruple alliance formed with France, Austria and Holland, 1718
Defeat of Spanish invaders in Scotland, 1719
End of the war with Spain, 1720
Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1723

Death of Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, 1725
Foundation of Georgia, 1732
Increase of smuggling between England and Spanish colonies, 1730-9
Declaration of war on Spain, 1739

Death of Frederick William of Prussia accession of Frederick the Great, 1740
War of Austrian Succession, 1740-8
War with France victory of Dettingen, 1743

Anson completes his journey by ship round the world, 1744
Battle of Fontenoy, 1745.
Francis I, husband of Maria Theresa, becomes Emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 1745
Battle of Lauffeld, 1747
End of war of Austrian Succession, 1748.
Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 1748.

Prince Charlie finds refuge in France.

Robert Clive in India, 1750

LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Death of John Locke, 1704.
Blenheim Palace begun in 1705 by Sir John Vanbrugh.
Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison outstanding in reign of Queen Anne.

Steele founds the *Tatler*, 1709
Many fine "Georgian" town houses built, 1710-50

Greenwich Hospital completed, 1715
Age of Alexander Pope and John Gay.
Joseph Addison, Secretary of State, 1717 - tendency to combine literary and political careers.

Decline of art in all forms during reign of George I. Hanoverian influence on architecture becomes more marked, 1725-50.
St Martin-in-the-Fields built by James Gibbs, 1722

Age of William Kent's finest architecture, 1725-35

Senate House, Cambridge, completed, 1730
The *Gentleman's Magazine* makes its first appearance, 1731

Radcliffe Camera, Oxford, typical of architecture of period, 1735-50

John and Charles Wesley the most notable preachers of their day

Sir Joshua Reynolds at the height of his power

Death of James Thomson, 1748

Mansion House, London, in course of construction, 1750.
Bishop Berkeley (died 1753) founds a new Christian philosophy.

TIME CHART

[illegible]

1750-1800

OUTSTANDING EVENTS ABROAD	LITERATURE AND THE ARTS
<p>Robert Clive in India captures Arcot, 1751. Frederick the Great, Emperor of Prussia, 1740-86. Seven Years War between England and France begins, 1755. Black Hole of Calcutta, 1756. Battle of Plassey, 1757. Battle of Minden, 1759. General Wolfe captures Quebec, 1759. End of French rule in India, 1760</p> <p>Cuba and Philippine Islands surrender, 1762 End of Seven Years War, 1763. France extends her frontier eastward to Rhine, 1766. French troops occupy Corsica, 1769 Captain Cook lands in Australia, 1770.</p> <p>Louis XVI succeeds Louis XV on throne of France, 1774</p> <p>First Partition of Poland, 1772.</p> <p>Boston "Tea Party," 1773.</p> <p>Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, 1775. George Washington commander of American forces, 1775. Evacuation of Boston, 1776. Capture of Philadelphia, 1777; evacuated, 1778. Declaration of war by Spain, 1779. Siege of Gibraltar, 1779. Battle of Cape St. Vincent—defeat of the Spanish Fleet, 1780. War declared on Holland, 1780. Capitulation of English army at Yorktown, 1781. Ireland granted independence of legislation, 1782. Siege of Gibraltar raised, 1782.</p> <p>Treaty of Versailles between England, France, the United States, Spain and Holland, 1783.</p> <p>Commercial treaty with France, 1786. Death of Frederick the Great, 1786. Revolution in France, 1789. The King of France leaves Paris, 1791. French Republic proclaimed, 1792. Execution of Louis XVI, 1793. War between England and France, 1793. War between England and Spain, 1796. Victory of Nelson at Cape St. Vincent, 1797. Battle of the Nile, 1798. Capture of Malta, 1800.</p>	<p>Birth of Richard Sheridan, 1751. Death of Bishop Berkeley, 1753.</p> <p>Poetry of Thomas Gray and William Collins now popular.</p> <p>Mayfair and Bloomsbury being built as suburbs of London</p> <p>Development of panelling in interior decoration, 1750-1800.</p> <p>Rebuilding and expansion of City of Bath by the Woods (completed c. 1780).</p> <p>Gothic revival in architecture led by Horace Walpole</p> <p>Publication of Horace Walpole's <i>Anecdotes of Painting</i>, 1762</p> <p>Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) first President of the Royal Academy of Arts</p> <p>Death of William Hogarth, 1764 Henry Flitcroft (d. 1769) architect of St. Giles in the Fields.</p> <p>George Dance (d. 1768) architect of the Mansion House.</p> <p>Death of Oliver Goldsmith, 1774. Robert Burns at the height of his power</p> <p>Wedgwood ware sets new standard of art in ceramics, 1760-1800</p> <p>Greek revival in architecture after 1760.</p> <p>The brothers Adam develop great elaboration in decoration, 1750-90.</p> <p><i>The Rivals</i> and many other plays by R. B. Sheridan.</p> <p>Sir William Chambers architect of Somerset House, 1726-96. Publication of Burke's <i>Reflections on the French Revolution</i>, 1790. <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> by Edward Gibbon.</p> <p>Death of Edward Gibbon, 1794. Death of Robert Burns, 1796. Death of Edmund Burke, 1797. <i>The Ancient Mariner</i> by Coleridge, 1798. Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads published, 1798. Death of William Cowper, 1800.</p>

TIME CHART

	PRIME MINISTERS	EVENTS AT HOME	SOCIAL CHANGES
George III (until 1820)	William Pitt, 1800.	Coalition of Britain and European countries against France.	Peak of stage-coach services. Great strides in invention during war years.
	Addington, 1801.	Act of Union creates United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1800.	Enrichment of landowners and farmers at expense of agricultural labourers, 1800-15.
	William Pitt, 1804.	Pitt resigns owing to opposition to bill for relief of Catholics, 1801.	First voyage of the <i>Comet</i> , 1811. Reproduction by lithography invented, 1798.
		War declared on France, 1803. Bill for abolition of slave trade rejected by Lords, 1804.	First railway engine made by George Stephenson, 1814.
		Napoleonic invasion scare begins, 1804.	Miners' safety lamp, 1815.
	Lord Grenville, 1806.	The Ministry of All Talents, 1806.	Depression in industry during the latter years of war.
	Duke of Portland, 1807	Slave trade abolished by Act of Parliament, 1807.	Unemployment brings revolt against machinery.
		Start of Peninsular War, 1808.	National Debt trebled by Napoleonic Wars.
	Perceval, 1809.	Regency Bill, 1811, Prince of Wales Regent.	Luddite riots, 1811-16.
		State of war with United States, 1812-14.	Exceptionally bad harvest, 1816: discontent shown by bread riots
George IV (1820-30)		Assassination of Prime Minister Perceval, 1812	Demobilization aggravates unemployment, 1816-20.
	Lord Liverpool, 1812	End of French wars, 1815	Plight of insolvent debtors recognized by Act of 1812.
		Habeas Corpus Act suspended, 1817.	Social conscience roused after "Peterloo Massacre," 1819
		Acts limiting popular "Reform Meetings," 1819.	Population of England and Wales now 14 million (1831).
		Cato Street conspiracy, 1820.	Liverpool-Manchester railway opened, 1830.
William IV (1830-7)		First great trade slump, 1825.	Further outbreaks of incendiarism and destruction of industrial machinery, 1830.
	George Canning, 1827.	Catholic Emancipation Bill, 1829	The first of many Factory Acts passed, 1833.
	Lord Goderich, 1827		First education grant by Parliament, 1833.
	Lord Wellington, 1828		Tax on newspapers reduced, 1835.
			Beginning of regulation of the conditions of employment by law.
Victoria (1837-1901)	Lord Grey, 1830.	Coronation of King William IV, 1830.	Children under nine forbidden to work: working hours of young people under 18 confined to a 12-hour day.
	Lord Melbourne, 1834.	Lord John Russell's Reform Bill, 1831.	"Corn Law" agitation for cheap bread.
	Sir Robert Peel, 1834.	Second Reform Bill, 1832.	Growth of Chartist movement for full franchise.
	Lord Melbourne, 1835.	Reform of the Poor Laws, 1833-5.	Idea of National Education is accepted, 1839.
		Municipal Reform Act, 1835	Income Tax imposed by Peel's Ministry on incomes over £150.
		Chartist riot in Newport, 1839.	Cost of living falls after 1846.
		Foundation of Anti-Corn Law League, 1843.	Penny post (adopted in 1840) helps to increase literacy.
	Sir Robert Peel, 1841.	Repeal of the Corn Laws—free trade begins, 1846.	Great increase in seaside excursions.
		Revolution in Ireland suppressed, 1848.	
		Repeal of the Navigation Laws, 1849.	
	Lord John Russell, 1846-52.	Preparations for the Great Exhibition, 1850.	

1800-1850

EVENTS ABROAD

LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Capture of Malta, 1798

Peace of Amiens, 1802

Napoleon Emperor of France, 1804-15

Battle of Trafalgar - death of Nelson, 1805

Battle of Jena, 1806.

Berlin Decree promulgated by Napoleon, 1806

Battle of Vimiero—defeat of French Army, 1808

Battles of Oporto and Talavera, 1809

Walcheren Expedition, 1809.

Invasion of Russia by Napoleon, 1812

Congress of Vienna, 1814-15

Battle of Waterloo, 1815

Louis XVIII, King of France, 1815-24

Catholic Association formed in Ireland, 1823

Charles X, King of France, 1824-30.

Battle of Navarino, 1827.

Accession of Louis Philippe in France, 1830

Rebellion in Canada, 1837.

Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, 1840-61.

Severe famine in Ireland, 1846.

Unsuccessful attempt at rebellion in Ireland, 1848

Principal writers

William Wordsworth, 1770-1850

Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834

Charles Lamb, 1775-1834.

Lord Byron, 1788-1824

Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1792-1822

John Keats, 1795-1821

Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881

Lord Macaulay, 1800-59

Lord Tennyson, 1809-92

W. M. Thackeray, 1811-63

Charles Dickens, 1812-70

Robert Browning, 1812-89

Ashridge House, last of the great Gothic mansions, 1813

Period of reliefs by Flaxman and others for interior decoration

Fine Regency architecture in Bath, Cheltenham and Brighton

Town planning experiment in Regent's Park (London) area by Nash

Brighton Pavilion (Oriental style) completed, 1820

Buckingham Palace reconstructed, 1825

Marble Arch (John Nash), 1825

Menai Bridge completed, 1825.

Gradual debasement of Georgian architecture, 1820-50

Old Bank of England completed, 1827

New London Bridge opened to traffic, 1831

Foundation stone of National Gallery laid, 1832

St George's Hall, Liverpool, 1839.

Classical style now generally in vogue for public building

Gothic style dominant for new churches

Advance of railways brings spate of terrace house building.

Buckingham Palace—new profile by Blore, 1846.

Beginning of experiments with glass as building material (leads to Great Exhibition buildings).

Westminster Palace (Houses of Parliament) in course of construction.

TIME CHART

	PRIME MINISTERS	EVENTS AT HOME	SOCIAL CHANGES
Victoria (1837-1901)	<p>Lord John Russell and Lord Derby, 1852.</p> <p>Lord Aberdeen, 1852.</p> <p>Lord Palmerston, 1855.</p> <p>Lord Derby, 1858.</p> <p>Lord Palmerston, 1859.</p> <p>Lord Russell, 1865.</p> <p>Lord Derby, 1866.</p> <p>Disraeli, 1868.</p> <p>Gladstone, 1868.</p> <p>Disraeli, 1874.</p> <p>Gladstone, 1880.</p> <p>Lord Salisbury, 1885.</p> <p>Gladstone, 1886.</p> <p>Lord Salisbury, 1886.</p> <p>Gladstone, 1892.</p> <p>Lord Rosebery, 1894.</p> <p>Lord Salisbury, 1895.</p>	<p>The Great Exhibition, 1851. Crimean War begins, 1854.</p> <p>India Bill becomes law, 1858. Appointment of Secretary of State for India, 1858. Reform Bill introduced and withdrawn, 1859. Death of Albert, Prince Consort, 1861. Death of Lord Palmerston, 1865. Lord Russell's Reform Bill defeated, 1866. Lord Derby's Reform Bill becomes law, 1867. Irish Land Act, 1870.</p> <p>Reform of the Supreme Court, 1873. Disraeli created Earl of Beaconsfield, 1876.</p> <p>Treaty of Berlin negotiated by Government, 1878.</p> <p>Another Irish Land Bill becomes law, 1881. Death of Earl of Beaconsfield, 1881.</p> <p>Reform of the franchise, 1884.</p> <p>Gladstone's Home Rule Bill defeated, 1886. Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations, 1887. Local Government Act, origin of County Councils, 1888. Education Act recognizes free education, 1891. Home Rule Bill rejected by Lords, 1893. Parish Councils created by Act of Parliament, 1894.</p>	<p>Increase in Export Trade follows Great Exhibition. Corrupt Practices Act, 1854 (Parliamentary elections). Repeal of duty on newspapers assures future influence of Press. Indian Mutiny draws attention to faults in colonial government. Imprisonment for debt abolished for most cases, 1861. Cotton famine follows outbreak of American Civil War. More than half a million Lancashire workers unemployed, 1865.</p> <p>Liberal tendencies reflected in Gladstone's ministry, 1868-74. "Electric Telegraph" nationalized, 1868. Elementary Education Act, 1870, a marked sign of progress. Secrecy assured in voting for Parliamentary elections by Ballot Act. Victory of Gladstone in 1880 election shows revival of liberalism. Development of British shipping engaged in carrying trade, 1880-1900. Three cornered constituencies abolished, 1885. Extension of principles of Local Government, 1888-94. Full ideal of democracy made possible by introduction of free education in elementary schools, 1891.</p> <p>Workmen's Compensation Act becomes law, 1897.</p>

1850-1900

EVENTS ABROAD	LITERATURE AND ARCHITECTURE
<p>Paris <i>coup d'état</i>, 1851. Louis Napoleon, Emperor of France, 1852-70</p>	<p>Golden Age of Victorian Literature, 1850-70. Great Exhibition Buildings, first successful use of iron and glass, 1851. Somerset House completed, 1852. Carlton Club, London, completed, 1854. Death of Lord Macaulay, 1859. Completion of new Palace of Westminster, 1860.</p>
<p>Siege of Sebastopol, 1854 Battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, 1854 Fall of Sebastopol, 1855 Treaty of Paris, 1856.</p>	<p>Town Hall, Halifax, architect, Charles Barry, 1862. Manchester Town Hall, 1865-68. Building of Albert Hall, 1865-68.</p>
<p>Outbreak of Indian Mutiny, 1857 Relief of Lucknow, 1857</p>	<p>Burlington House completed, 1866.</p>
<p>Civil War in America, 1861</p>	<p>Whitehall redesigned, 1860-75</p>
<p>Outbreak of war between Austria and Prussia, 1866</p>	<p>Gothic style dominant for major public buildings Social novels of Charles Dickens hasten civil reform Works of Tennyson and Browning mark revival of English poetry</p>
<p>Disestablishment of Church in Ireland, 1869</p>	<p>Death of Charles Dickens, 1870 Albert Memorial, London, 1872 Decline of Victorian literature, 1875-1900. St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, completed, 1879</p>
<p>Franco-Prussian War begins, 1870 Siege of Paris, 1870-71 Russo-Turkish War, 1877 Treaty of Berlin, 1878 Zulu War, 1879. Accession of Alexander III Emperor of Russia, 1881.</p>	<p>Death of George Eliot, 1880 Death of Thomas Carlyle, 1881</p>
<p>Death of General Gordon at Khartoum, 1885 Death of William I, Emperor of Prussia accession of Frederick III, 1888 William II, Emperor of Prussia, 1888</p>	<p>Death of Matthew Arnold, 1889 Death of Lord Tennyson, 1892</p>
<p>Jameson Raid (South Africa), 1896</p>	<p>John Ruskin at height of his powers, 1880-1900. Brompton Oratory built, 1890-97</p>
<p>Boer War, 1899-1902</p>	<p>Westminster Cathedral (Byzantine style) built, 1895-1903</p>
<p>Boxer Rebellion in China, 1900</p>	

TWENTIETH CENTURY

CHIEF EVENTS

Edward VII (1901-10)	1901	Australia declared a Commonwealth. End of Boxer Rebellion—peace with China.
	1902	Peace of Vereeniging—end of Boer War. Mr. Balfour succeeds Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister. Treaty between Great Britain and Japan.
	1903	Delhi Coronation Durbar. King Edward visits France.
	1904	<i>Entente Cordiale</i> signed between Great Britain and France. Outbreak of Russo-Japanese War.
	1905	Capture of Mukilen by Japanese—defeat of Russia Norway and Sweden become separate sovereign states. Death of Dr. Barnardo.
	1906	Launching of H.M.S. <i>Dreadnought</i> .
	1907	New Zealand created a Dominion
	1908	Mr. Asquith becomes Prime Minister. Anglo-French exhibition at the White City
	1909	Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey deposed
George V (1910-36)	1910	South Africa proclaimed a Union. Republic proclaimed in Portugal
	1911	Coronation of the King and Queen
	1912	End of the Chinese Empire—first President elected Triple Alliance between Italy, Germany and Austria renewed
	1913	State visit of King George V to Germany.
	1914	Opening of the Panama Canal. Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo Outbreak of First World War.
	1915	Dardanelles Campaign.
	1916	Battle of Jutland.
	1917	First tank battle at Cambrai. British capture Jerusalem. Revolution in Russia.
	1918	Break through of Allied troops in France—end of war
	1919	Treaty of Versailles. Fascist movement founded by Mussolini.
	1920	War between Greece and Turkey—defeat of Greece
	1922	Fascist march on Rome. Mussolini Prime Minister Civil War in Ireland.
	1923	Status of Irish Free State confirmed by Dail. Marriage of Duke of York and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon.
	1924	First Labour Government
	1925	Locarno Pact signed
	1926	General Strike. Germany admitted to League of Nations
	1930	R101 disaster.
	1932	De Valera becomes leader of the Irish Dail
Edward VIII (1936) George VI (1936-1952)	1933	Burning of the Reichstag—Hitler German Chancellor. F. D. Roosevelt President of U S A.
	1934	Assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia
	1935	Invasion of Abyssinia by Italian troops Britain celebrates Jubilee of King George V
	1936	Accession and abdication of Prince of Wales as Edward VIII.
	1937	Coronation of King George VI. Spanish Civil War.
	1938	Anschluss of Germany and Austria. Mr. Chamberlain visits Hitler at Munich.
	1939	General Franco Spanish dictator—end of civil war. Germany invades Poland. Britain declares war—beginning of Second World War.

1901-1939

THE CHANGING WORLD

First Trans-Atlantic wireless signals received by Marconi, 1901.
Increasing number of women employed in industry

Wright Brothers make first flight in heavier than air machine, December, 1903.
First electric trains in London, 1903

New Russian constitution underlines movement to liberalism
Heyday of Ascot race meeting as centre of fashion, 1905-14
Suffragette movement, 1905-14

Old Age Pension Act a big step towards the Welfare State
Boy Scout (1908) and Girl Guide (1910) movements founded
Early films being shown in public

National Insurance Act another landmark in social legislation
Death of "General" William Booth
Captain Scott reaches the South Pole
First "flag day" in London (Alexandra Rose Day), 1912

Great contribution of women to war effort in munition factories
Air-raids on London cause only temporary alarm
Principle of rationing accepted, 1916
Vast development of mechanical warfare by land and air
Entry of U.S.A. into war marks end of American policy of isolation

Alcock and Brown fly the Atlantic
First woman Member of Parliament (Lady Astor), 1919

Rapid advance of films in popularity

Industrial unrest follows end of First World War
Cheap excursions by rail and road make British people more travel conscious than ever before, 1920-30.

Empire Exhibition at Wembley, 1925.
Mass production of cars brings "motoring to the millions"
Number of wireless sets in Britain exceeds one million for first time, 1925
Prince of Wales proves Britain's finest ambassador--in South Africa, 1925.
Lindbergh makes first solo flight across Atlantic Ocean, 1927
Greyhound racing introduced to Britain, 1927
World economic depression, 1929-32.
Opening of Mersey Tunnel, 1934.
Sir Malcolm Campbell exceeds 300 m.p.h. in his car *Bluebird*, 1935

Constitutional crisis of abdication passes almost without incident.

British subjects volunteer for service in Spanish war.
Public concern only partly allayed by Munich settlement.
Sir Malcolm Campbell captures water speed record, 1939.

ANSWERS TO "TEST YOURSELF"

CHAPTER XIII

1. The general truth that geographical factors can rarely if ever be disregarded if the history of human development is to be intelligible may be illustrated from every aspect of the history of Great Britain, whether economic, social, political or aesthetic. Economically, England had every advantage. The English had conquered and settled in the great fertile plain while the conquered Celtic peoples had to be content with the less hospitable regions of the mountainous north and west. This racial division still survives. The English plain faced the potential markets of Europe, was watered by rivers which flowed in the most advantageous directions, and which in general had useful estuaries on which ports were built and where ships could shelter. With plenty to sell it was inevitable that England should have become a relatively wealthy trading nation.

Socially, while England rapidly achieved national unity, Scotland suffered the local isolation characteristic of peoples who dwell in valleys. Such isolation implies poverty and backwardness. The people as a whole were separated from the more progressive opportunities of England by the border-lands, for long kept deliberately as a buffer region. In the military history of the two countries the position of Stirling illustrates the importance of geographical factors, for it was the nodal point where the western and eastern routes from the south converged.

2. This question is introduced in order to interest the reader in a field of thought which could not be developed at length in the text, that of the artistic or aesthetic aspect of life. Before the question is answered directly, a number of general ideas might usefully be stated. The arts of music, drama, poetry, and painting seem to develop in two distinct ways: in one form they appear as a spontaneous popular expression, such as is revealed in folksong, folkdance, simple verse, ornamentation,

and the like; in the other form they appear as highly specialized achievements. This cultivated form of expression comes with the leisured opportunity for the development of complex skills, artistic sensitivity, and critical standards of judgement. In music it is revealed in complex choral and orchestral compositions, and in highly skilled performance. Such development demands not only leisure but a wealthy society, willing for example to maintain musicians and to pay for musical instruments. Orchestral music did not develop until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when wealthy patrons were willing to maintain bodies of instrumentalists to perform for their pleasure. Considerable scientific and industrial development is also implied, for the evolution of orchestral instruments reveals a highly skilled and specialized field of invention.

These generalizations make it possible to distinguish between Welsh and English musical development. In Wales music has remained essentially a popular form of expression and, in the main, vocal. In England, where a leisured and wealthy urban aristocracy appeared, music became a highly specialized and complex art as early as Tudor times. English folk music is in no way inferior to that of Wales. But folk music dies with urbanization, as folk-dance dies when it passes from field to salon. It is in the salon, however, that instrumental virtuosity, chamber music, madrigals, sonatas, and similar forms of expression have their origin. The distinction between Welsh and English music, therefore, is not derived from difference in innate racial musical quality; it is a distinction between music which has remained in general that of the people and music which the opportunities of greater wealth, urbanization, and leisure have turned into a highly specialized art.

3. The essential point of this question is that, however we may define feudalism, the social organization of the Scottish

Highlands was different from that of the systems generally described as feudal. It was different for example from the social organization of Medieval England. There were, of course, similarities. Common to both were the immediate dependence on the land for the satisfaction of local needs, the communal working of the land, the presence of a lord or chieftain, and the acceptance of the duty of following such a chieftain in raids or other military exploits. But here the resemblances end, for these are the general characteristics of a loose tribal organization such as had existed in England before the organization of the country into a feudal state. However unsystematic may have been the "feudal system" in practice, it was a system characterized by the presence of a military hierarchy subordinate to a central monarchic authority. The lords did not own their land but held it from some higher authority and ultimately from the king. Whereas the Scottish system made for disintegration and for the geographical isolation of the clans, feudal organization tended toward unity and centralization. The administrative and judicial functions of feudal chieftains were gradually taken over by the monarchy. Resistance to this centralization in a feudal state, or oppression by baronial overlords, tended to bring the king and the people together against the barons, at once rebels and oppressors. In the Scottish Highlands the unity of purpose and interest lay between chieftain and his clan.

4. By the Act of Union the Scots gained the material advantages of being incorporated into a more advanced, a more nationally organized, and a wealthier system of economy, with a rapidly developing and more prosperous overseas trade. They gained the advantage of being merged into a nation which was already a Great Power, which was claiming and defending, usually successfully, the supremacy of the seas, and powerful enough to extend and to defend against European rivals her commercial and colonial outposts in distant parts of the world. In the rapidly developing struggle for world trade and empire, Scotland, as an independent nation, would have been relatively impotent. As part of Great Britain Scotland could contribute to and derive benefit from British successes

in these fields. Moreover, the development of Scotland, disadvantageous to a rival England, was advantageous to England as a partner, and English help could be expected in the opening of Highland highways, the fostering of new industries and the like after the Union. These material benefits in commercial and colonial opportunity and in greater security were gained without loss of many national privileges, educational, judicial, and religious. All that was lost was a rather unreal national independence. Scotland never lost the characteristics which still make her a distinct national entity.

CHAPTER XIV

1. "Back to the land" summarizes the main characteristics of seventeenth-century farming, the increased interest in tillage and a corresponding decrease in the interest in sheep-rearing. Reasons for this change are discussed in the next answer. Behind this change was the rapid increase in farming for profit, a tendency with which Loder obviously sympathized. The increased capitalization of farming and the extension of the profit motive provided the urge to increased production, to make experiments in tillage, to introduce new crops, to concentrate on certain crops, and in general to adopt a more critical and scientific attitude to the whole process of agriculture. These tendencies, which brought about the changes known as the "agricultural revolution," are clearly indicated in Loder's farming in the early seventeenth century. It is clear too that the practice of hiring specialized labour had already become established.

2. A change in the kind of goods produced in any commercial enterprise usually implies that the nature of the demand has changed or is expected to change. During the Tudor times industrial specialization and adventurous commercial undertakings developed rapidly, and these developments were reflected in the rapid progress of the urban populations. An urban aristocracy grew in wealth and in numbers. As markets for manufactured goods increased, it was an obvious economy to develop to the maximum the industrial productive capacity of the towns, and to buy food. Town dwellers, therefore, turned increasingly to

the countryside for their food, and expected as great a variety of food as nearby farms could provide. Corn, fruit, poultry, eggs, dairy produce, bacon, beef, mutton, and root crops (to make the provision of fresh meat in winter possible) would all find ready markets if a farmer could produce them. The demand was there in the seventeenth century.

A second factor which stimulated food production was a developing sense of nationalism, which hoped to make England independent of foreign food supplies, as is indicated in the Act of 1597. Moreover, the profit motive was already beginning to influence English economy as a whole, and the mercantilist principle of maximum home production and minimum importation, when applied to farming, meant maximum tillage. Sheep rearing was in most parts of England a far riskier process than was tillage, and Loder's accounts provide an example of the loss of 400 of a flock of 500 sheep in a single year.

3. There seems little doubt that seventeenth-century Puritanism was mainly confined to the wealthier upper middle class. Peasants are normally conservative, particularly in matters of religion, and the rural workers of the seventeenth century were unlikely to understand the meaning of doctrinal change. They would judge Puritanism by the observed behaviour of Puritans, and the period of Puritan rule could not have made a popular impression in the country districts where many of the simple and traditional rural pleasures had been forbidden. It seems probable, therefore, that country workers were in general unsympathetic toward the Puritans. Chesterton adds, as evidence of his view, that "all the popular tradition there is, as in songs, toasts, rhymes, or proverbs, is all Royalist."

4. The first question invited by the quotation is "Can the Civil Wars be regarded as a conflict between political tradition and political freedom?" Superficially, a struggle between despotic monarchy and parliamentary rule seems to represent such a conflict. But James I and Charles I were not monarchs in the English tradition. There was no precedent for a claim to rule by Divine Right; but there was an age-old precedent for monarchs to

rule by the consent of at least a section of the people, whether represented in the Witanagemot, the Magnum Concilium, or the Parliament. In one sense it was Parliament which represented tradition; its claim that the consent of the people taxed was necessary before new taxes could be imposed had been established as long before as the reign of John. If the Royalists had little right to be regarded as traditionalists, their opponents had as little right to be regarded as the champions of political freedom. The Parliamentarians sought political power for a privileged minority and the Cromwellian victors established a military despotism.

It is equally difficult to accept the view that the Civil War was a struggle for religious freedom or even the beginning of such a conflict, for the Puritans were at least as intolerant of any religious view which differed from their own as were the Episcopalians.

CHAPTER XV

1. How does one assess the character of a whole century, or of a people in any given age? The problem is similar to that of a psychologist who has to generalize about human behaviour: such generalizations are not falsified because there are individual deviations from the normal. It is easy to select from the history of eighteenth-century Britain examples of great heroism and courage, as the heroism of Wolfe at Quebec, or the courage of Wesley when he faced the mob which stoned him. There must have been thousands of acts of unselfishness and of courage in home and workshop, in town and village. But the glorious, the splendid, the heroic, were far from being characteristics of behaviour in this century.

The century, too, saw the great expansion of the Empire, the founding of British India, the acquisition of Canada, the seizure of naval bases and of commercial outposts in distant lands. The imperialist will find in this much that is "glorious" and "splendid." The century saw a series of successful wars against France, ending in the overthrow of Napoleon, and, as has happened more recently, Britain more than once stood alone in what she regarded as a struggle in the defence of freedom against

world aggression. Grant Robertson, in the preface to his *Hanoverian England*, reminded us that the reader approaches the eighteenth century with an already determined scale of values. Concentration on great achievements in the imperial, military, naval, and mercantile fields evaluates this century as one of outstanding brilliance. But if one's scale of values looks to the general conditions of the people, to the general average quality of human relations, to the attitude of authority and of the wealthy towards the worker and the poor the century appears in a very different light. It meant little to the flogged and deformed child in the mill that glorious conquest had opened up markets for the goods he was helping to produce.

2. In discussing the proposition that the purpose of trade is to make a monetary profit it is necessary to beware of a fallacious argument which often intrudes. In a system of trading in which money is the medium of exchange, and in which production implies the investment of capital, it is necessary that a monetary profit shall be made in order to maintain and to extend the process of production. It is necessary to "make money" in order to "put it back into the business." This is true, but to use this argument in order to defend the proposition would be fallacious, for it would imply that the purpose of trade and production is to extend the trade and production, that we sell in order to sell more, that we make in order to make more, which is absurd.

In the present system of economy it is true that the immediate motive for general trading is to make a profit, and any question of "rightness" or "wrongness" in this is irrelevant. The error lies in assuming that the monetary profit is the final object of the trading. The unsoundness of the doctrine, which the mercantilists applied to national trading, is not derived from some ethical principle but simply from the fact that the doctrine defeats its own professed object. Trading consists in the exchange of goods to the advantage of each or all of the participants. The use of money simply makes the process more elastic than does simple bartering, but it does not alter the fundamental nature of the trading process. To sell as much as

possible and to buy as little as possible in order to make the largest possible monetary profit means that the exchange has not been completed, and that the seller has not yet added to his wealth. Carried to its logical conclusion the policy defeats itself because every sale implies a purchase; if no one buys, no one can sell.

3. After the failure of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 the Tory party was left not only discredited but faced with the necessity of redrafting its political creed. In the changed political conditions it was no longer practicable to think of monarchy in terms of Divine Right, for the sovereign was obviously dependent not on divine but on parliamentary support. Even the idea of an absolute monarch was no longer tenable when the monarch had to delegate the greater part of his sovereignty to a minister. It was mainly the work of Bolingbroke, who returned from exile in 1723, to bring Tory principles into line with the new conditions, and to express these modified principles first in "The Craftsman" and later in "The Idea of a Patriot King."

The new Tory view was that the Whigs had ruined the balance of the British Constitution by subordinating the King and the Parliament to the rule of the wealthy class. Instead of a sovereign and a parliament there was an oligarchy in power, an oligarchy which controlled both king and parliament. A Prime Minister with a Cabinet of Ministers, drawn from this wealthy class, had become the real rulers of the country. Secondly, the new Tories denounced the development of "parties" within the government, regarding these as "factions." Bolingbroke wished to free the Crown and parliament from dependence on the wealthy group which had usurped the functions of both. He proposed that there should be a national government and an independent monarch who would be above and outside party factions. This monarch he conceived as a "patriot king," exercising full sovereign powers, but working in conjunction with an independent parliament. It was this conception which appealed to Pitt, who looked for its possible fulfilment when, in 1760, George III came to the throne, "glorying in the name of Briton."

CHAPTER XVI

1. It is a truism that war does not settle disputes and that arguments are not resolved by force. In any war it is usually possible for each side to assign some measure of responsibility for the war to the opposing nation. Consequently, when the war ends, it seems reasonable for the victorious nation to weaken its defeated opponent so that it cannot soon disturb the peace again. It seems reasonable to demand reparations, and to seize territory, goods, ships, commercial privileges and so on, as compensation. When a peace treaty embodies any or all of these tendencies it is obvious that additional grievances are added to the old ones. The defeated, plundered, and humiliated nation feels justified in strengthening herself to regain what she has lost. A new war does not seem to her to be one of revenge but of restitution. A glance at the more important peace treaties is sufficient to justify this generalization.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Spain had to yield Gibraltar and Minorca to Britain and many commercial privileges. In 1725, hoping to regain what she had lost, Spain was the centre of a coalition against Britain. By the same treaty France ceded Acadia, which became known as Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, so that Britain controlled both sides of the St. Lawrence River, and cut off from the sea the French Canadian settlers. Almost immediately the French began to build the great fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island and to fortify the isthmus of Nova Scotia. In 1739 Britain was again at war with Spain and France.

The reader may find it interesting to examine the main peace treaties in more detail than is possible in a short answer, and to include in such study the treaties which were signed at Versailles, St. Germain, and Trianon after the First World War in 1919 and 1920.

2. The three outstanding achievements of the long period of Whig rule were the establishing of the British form of constitutional government, the imperial expansion of Britain, and the economic development of Britain. After the domestic turbulence of the seventeenth century and the failure of the Jacobite rising of 1715, the

security of the Whig rule made equally secure the Hanoverian Dynasty which the Whigs supported. Thus the principle of a limited monarchy had time to become established, and the Cabinet system of government, with ministers responsible to parliament, began to evolve. Overseas the period from 1715 to 1760 was one of almost continuous imperial expansion. In America, British possessions or British colonies spread from Canada and the Arctic north to tropical Georgia. The British were supreme in great parts of India. France, Britain's most stubborn colonial rival, had been defeated in three wars, and was to be defeated in a fourth. Commercially Britain had no serious rival in 1760, and the expansion of oversea markets made demands on British production which, in turn, necessitated revolutionary changes in British agricultural and industrial procedure. These were great achievements. That some of the motives which led to them, some of the methods employed, and some of the direct effects of the policy were less admirable, are matters irrelevant to this question.

3. (a) The granting of a charter to authorize a trading company to form a trading settlement led to the founding of Virginia (1607) and of North and South Carolina (1663).

(b) The New England Colonies were formed by Puritan immigrants. The four colonies which crystallized out of the early settlements were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. Maine, which was annexed by Massachusetts between 1652 and 1658, was an Anglican colony founded by charter.

(c) Pennsylvania was founded by the Quaker, William Penn, as a refuge for Quakers who were suffering persecution under the laws passed in Charles II's reign against "Nonconformists." These laws were known as the "Clarendon Code."

(d) The northern and southern groups of colonies were separated by the Hudson River, on which the Dutch had founded the New Netherland Colony, or New Amsterdam. During the Third Dutch War Colonel Nicolls captured New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York after James, Duke of York, the King's brother. The Dutch possessions had included

Delaware and the part of New Amsterdam which became New Jersey.

(e) Successful wars against France, Britain's main colonial and commercial rival at this time, brought Canada, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and West Indian islands to Britain.

(f) Georgia was founded in 1732 as a refuge for paupers by General Oglethorpe, chairman of a parliamentary committee on debtors' prisons.

4. Trading outposts in North America were founded in an almost empty land which provided immediate opportunities for development and settlement. What the settlers sold had in the main to be produced by themselves or by labour which they controlled. The trading outposts, therefore, became settlements, the settlers became producers, and were themselves the purchasers and consumers of European produce.

In India the trading outposts were planted in a land which had a large population and an established culture of its own. The traders therefore remained traders, they did not become producers or colonists, and Britain remained their home.

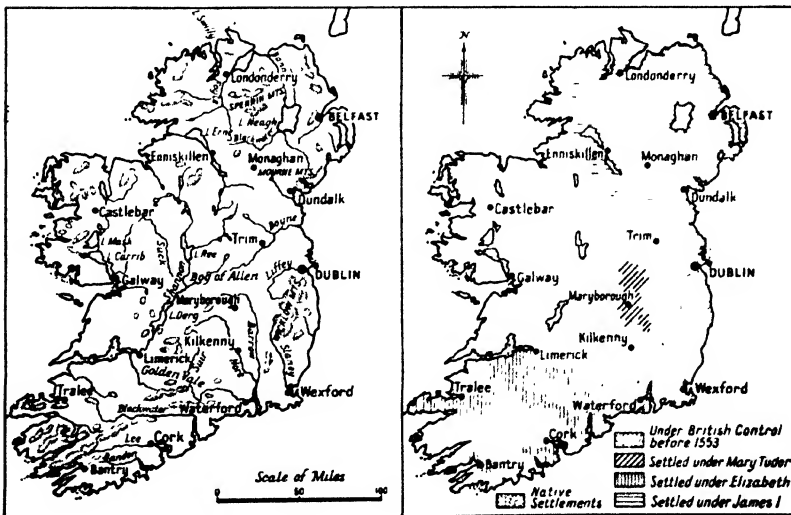
CHAPTER XVII

1. See maps below.
2. The Protestants were, in the eighteenth century, the only people of Ireland

sufficiently compact, organized, articulate, and socially developed to be capable of taking any significant action against the English. Moreover, their grievances were not vaguely nationalist, but specifically economic and political. They had, too, the opportunity, excuse, and means of creating a military force, ostensibly for their own defence, when the protecting troops were withdrawn to reinforce English forces then operating against the American Revolution.

3. The advantages and disadvantages to the Scots which resulted from the Anglo-Scottish Union have already been discussed (see Chapter XIV, question 4). The material gains were great, the disadvantages negligible. Further, Scotland was a reasonably united nation, in race, economic development, and in religion. Ireland, on the contrary, was racially divided, torn between the older race and the more recently superimposed settlers, torn between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, with one section politically and economically privileged, the other embittered by repression.

While mere union with Great Britain, however carried out, could not solve the problems of a country so divided, the union as carried out failed to benefit either the



Roman Catholic or Protestant Irish. The latter merely lost the relatively independent parliament which they had earlier won for themselves. The only significant change in the Anglo-Irish situation brought about by the Act of Union was that the Irish Protestants exchanged their own parliament for the privilege of sending representatives to Westminster, where they were virtually impotent.

4. The Irish story provides an example of the general principle that a people, unwillingly subordinated to the rule of force, develop a stronger sense of nationalism which expresses itself in resistance whenever there seems a chance of success. The civil wars of the seventeenth century, absorbing English energy and interest at home, seemed to provide such a chance, and the Irish rebelled against the privileged Protestant settlers. Cromwell's vengeance merely increased Irish hatred of England, and made English rule appear more tyrannical. The opportunity to help the exiled James II to regain the English throne had as little success, and was followed by William III's conquest of the Irish and the Penal Laws, which left the Irish Roman Catholics with little save the air they breathed. The American Revolution provided the Irish Protestants with a chance to arm themselves, to gain commercial advantages hitherto denied them, and to free their parliament from the necessity of having to submit its measures to England for approval. England's preoccupation with the war against revolutionary France was seized as an opportunity to gain some relief by the Irish Roman Catholic population, but the rebellion of 1798 was crushed. The story continued with little change. The First World War was seized by the Irish Nationalist Party as a chance to gain independence with German help. Sir Roger Casement was hanged, while other leaders of the "Easter Week Rebellion" were shot.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Long before the eighteenth century the old communal system of farming, with open fields, scattered strips of arable, and common pasture, had become a social anomaly and economic absurdity. England was no longer a community of relatively

self-supporting local groups, but a nation of interdependent parts, increasingly tending to specialize in production of goods for export. The wasteful nature of the old system no longer sufficed for the growing population and for the increased needs of the towns. But new methods of production, such as crop rotation, drilled sowing, hoeing, or selective cattle breeding, could not be applied to the open field system of farming. Experiments, with risks of failure, implied ownership and control, the investment of capital, and, under the existing economic system, the stimulation of a profit motive. That enclosure was both necessary and ultimately advantageous is certain.

The disadvantages arose from the nature of a process which involved the loss of real income with the security of the continuous maintenance which communal farming had reasonably ensured. For such a loss no monetary compensation could compensate adequately. What compensation was received was usually insufficient to prevent immediate distress amongst the dispossessed peasants, much was absorbed in the costs of enclosure, and the alternative of a continuous and adequate wage for hired rural labour was neutralized by the surplus labour available and by the seasonal nature of the demand for such labour. One immediate result of the extended process of enclosure was the further social and economic depression of the rural peasantry, now entirely dependent on their ability to support themselves as hired labourers.

2. When the maintenance of a society involves that some work has to be done, it seems reasonable to insist that the maintenance of individual members should involve whatever contribution of work and service of which they are capable. In the eighteenth century, however, earning capacity and willingness to work did not imply self-maintenance. The temporary surplus of rural labour which followed the rapid extension of enclosure combined with the ruthless and materialistic philosophy of the profit-seeking age to reduce wages to so low a figure that full-time occupation was insufficient, without poor-law relief, to provide the barest necessities of life. Competitive industry, logically conceived, implies a struggle for existence, and

poverty was regarded in this age as the inevitable lot of those who failed, for any reason whatever, to take advantage of whatever opportunities for self-advancement this perpetual struggle might offer. This philosophy, which reduced human relations to those of the jungle, reached its most logical expression in the writings of Herbert Spencer, who would have reduced society to a condition of "Ideal Anarchy." The doctrine not only neglected the factors of unequal opportunity and capacity; it ignored the social quality of human relations, and reduced many rural workers to a condition of unparalleled distress.

3. The passing of the Corn Law of 1815 seemed a necessary step to saving the agricultural capitalists from ruin. To justify the Act, however, it would be necessary to show that it was beneficial to the country as a whole, at least as a temporary expedient. To support the view that this was true in fact it could be argued that without the Act many farmers would have been ruined, that much land would have passed out of cultivation, and that this would have led to increased unemployment, dearer and scarcer food, and increased distress. It might be argued too that, though Britain was rapidly becoming an industrial nation, with the sale of manufactured goods becoming the main source of Britain's wealth, agriculture was still the most important British activity, and that the importance of maintaining the home production of foodstuffs had been illustrated during the recent war. Moreover, the vast stimulation of British agriculture during the war had contributed as much as had any other single factor to the survival and victory of Britain.

To such arguments the manufacturer could reply that the extension of British industries would help to absorb the surplus labour of rural areas, that such extension demanded domestic and foreign markets, that there could be no home market if people had to spend their scanty rural wages on the purchase of dear food, and that the purchase of foreign foods would not only cheapen their cost at home but would encourage such oversea producers to purchase British manufactures.

This kind of prejudicial argument continued throughout the greater part of the

century. Meanwhile, the workers continued to pay maximum prices for their food, until a famine in Ireland compelled an unwilling government to abandon the protection of the farmer for the needs of the people.

4. The main changes in agricultural method were: (a) The change from the communal working of an open-field system to capitalized experimentation on privately owned and enclosed farms. (b) The change from broadcast sowing to drilled sowing, to permit hoeing. The pioneer who scientifically investigated the value of hoeing was Jethro Tull. (c) The introduction of root crops, clovers and sown grasses, in rotation with cereal crops. (d) Scientific breeding of sheep and cattle for meat production.

Drilled sowing made hoeing possible. Hoeing and the rotating of crops made it unnecessary to leave land fallow, and thereby increased the area under cultivation by at least fifty per cent. Root crops made possible the provision of winter fodder and the annual supply of fresh meat. This in turn led to increased interest in meat production and to Bakewell's experiments in selective breeding.

CHAPTER XIX

1. The most revolutionary change in British industry in the eighteenth century, a change to which most of the others contributed, was the replacement of domestic industry by that of the factory. The transference had begun long before, at least to small capitalized workshops where hired workers were employed, and the process still continues. But in the eighteenth century the change was rapid and extensive.

The invention and increasing use of machines in industrial processes was a second characteristic, and one which led to the necessary concentration of workers in mills and factories. This development implied, as a third characteristic, the increased investment of capital and, in turn, a growing gulf between employer and worker.

The application of steam power to machinery stimulated the production of coal, the manufacture of steel, the introduction of heavier and more powerful machinery, the building of furnaces, the

opening and organization of rolling mills, boiler shops, foundries, and other forms of iron-works. In turn this led to the gradual concentration of British industries on and near the coalfields of the north, west and Midlands. Geographical specialization in turn demanded improvements in transport, for it implied the interdependence of the regions concerned.

2. The British cotton industry could never have been a purely domestic concern such as the woollen industry had been. Obviously cotton had to be imported and, therefore, was handled exclusively by merchants, who had to buy large quantities at a time. The British cotton industry, therefore, was always a capitalized industry and was organized on an owner-employee basis. It was, too, unlike the woollen industry, geographically concentrated. Lancashire had the right kind of damp climate and was conveniently situated; so there the cotton arrived, was distributed, spun, woven, and redistributed for sale. Spinners could never keep pace with the demands of the weavers, and the manufacturers of woollen cloths were provided with yarn by spinners spread over many counties.

The combination in the cotton industry of its early and complete dependence on the financier, its concentration, and its ever-increasing demand for more thread than could be produced by the old methods of spinning, made possible and certain the introduction and development of newer methods of manufacture. None of these factors applied to the woollen industry, which, too, was steeped in the conservatism of long tradition.

3. In many ways, some sufficiently rapid and significant to justify the description "revolutionary," the industrial changes of the eighteenth century altered social conditions and social relationships.

The increased wealth of owners and employers combined with the economic and social depression of the workers to produce a proletariat and to widen the gulf between employer and employee. The employment of women and children at the lowest possible wages added to the depression of the working class. Further, this new class of industrial poor was concentrated in the barracks, courts, mechanics' rows, and

similar slum-like areas of the industrial towns. These towns themselves produced a new social phenomenon; ill-planned, smoke-laden, dirty, with their shabby clusters of workers' dwellings, they accentuated the changing relationship between employer and employee.

On the other hand, the improved roads which the industrial specialization demanded opened up regions hitherto often isolated for long periods of the year, and brought light into the dark places. They provided new opportunities for travel and, in time, ended the relative isolation of backward regions, such as the Midlands of the early eighteenth century where Wesley was stoned. As the centre of economic importance moved from the south to the mineral beds of the north, so the areas of relative density of population moved, and with this change so moved the main interest from the rural to the industrial regions, from the farmer to the industrialist.

A new Iron Age had dawned, and social adaptation was not easy.

CHAPTER XX

1. The Act of 1802 is usually described as "The First Factory Act." It applied to "apprentices and others" employed in all mills and factories in Great Britain and Ireland in which three or more apprentices or twenty or more other persons were employed. Apprentices in these places were not to be employed for more than twelve hours each day, and not between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. Meal times were not included in the twelve hours. Two suits of clothes were "constantly" to be provided and some part of each day was to be devoted to "instruction." Factories were to be whitewashed twice a year and kept ventilated. There were to be separate dormitories for female and male apprentices. It is important to observe that, though the Act refers in its preamble to "apprentices and others," the clauses refer only to apprentices. The Act was largely inoperative, as there was no adequate inspection.

The Act of 1819, which so disappointed Robert Owen, applied only to cotton mills, in which children under the age of nine were not to be employed, and no

children under sixteen years were to be employed for more than twelve hours daily, exclusive of meals, or between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. In 1825 the period of twelve hours was reduced to nine hours.

The Act of 1833 extended the restriction to other textile factories. Young persons under the age of eighteen years were not to be employed in these factories for more than twelve hours in a day, or more than sixty-nine in a week, or between 8.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m. Children were not to be employed for more than nine hours daily except in silk mills, and the minimum age of employed children was to be progressively raised. The appointment of paid inspectors promised a stricter adherence to the Act.

The Act of 1844 helped to secure the safety of children and young persons working at machines and, with certain exceptions, further decreased hours of labour. But it was retrogressive in that it permitted the employment of children who had completed their eighth year.

2. Before the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 it was obvious that changes in Britain's parliamentary system were desirable; popular enthusiasm for such reforms was derived mainly from the belief that a more widely representative government would look more kindly on the needs of the depressed workers than the previous governments had. After 1832 popular demands for further changes, reflected in the Chartist movement, were due to the disappointment of the workers with the kind of reforms which the new government had effected, and to the belief that not until workers themselves were enfranchised would their needs be sympathetically considered.

The social and economic changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution had revealed the need for political reforms more clearly. Growing industrial towns with considerable and increasing populations were not represented, whereas small and insignificant boroughs had from one to four representatives. There was no uniform system of election, many members were the nominees of wealthy landowners, and the selling of such seats, or "borough mongering," was usual. Cobbett, in "The Political Register," had helped to popularize the

need for political reform, and popular interest was increased by the government's rejection of the reform bill of 1831.

The rise of Chartism in the late 'thirties, and the nature of the Chartists' demands, reveal the reasons for the popular demands for further changes in the political system. Only the relatively wealthy could afford to be members of parliament, so the principles that members should be paid and that the property qualification for membership should be abolished formed two of the Chartists' demands. Elections were still public and, therefore, subject to intimidation and bribery, so the Chartists' demanded that they should be by ballot. These reforms were considered necessary in order that "Every man of full age should have a vote." In these and the other popular demands was expressed the workers' growing conviction that until parliament depended in part on the support of the workers and included their own representatives the exploitation and distress from which they suffered would not be changed.

3. The Reform Act of 1832 had enfranchised the middle class. The working class, whose agitation had contributed to the passing of the Act, expected that the newly reformed parliament would immediately proceed to improve the conditions of the workers. Important reforms were passed in 1833 and 1834, but they were not what the workers had expected. The abolition of slavery in the British colonies was a needed reform, but it evoked the cry that the slaves in British mines should have been given equal consideration. The Factory Act of 1833, important as it was, did nothing to improve the general conditions of labour. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, necessary as it was to end the vicious system which had led workers to depend on parochial relief to eke out their inadequate wages, seemed in its immediate effect so harsh as to merit the name generally given to it, "The Poor Man's Robbery Bill."

So much had been expected from the Reform Act of 1832 that it is easy to understand the disappointment of the workers when they found the conditions under which they lived and worked unchanged.

CHAPTER XXI

1. Many people had discovered that the wealth of a nation does not depend on the accumulation of monetary profits but on the exchange of goods long before Adam Smith gave logical expression to the view in *The Wealth of Nations*. The cost of the Napoleonic Wars, however, prevented statesmen who accepted this view, as, for example, had William Pitt, from freeing international trade by reducing or abolishing import duties, for these were not only "protective" of British trade but a convenient source of revenue. Instead, such duties were so increased that they provided eighty per cent of the national revenue. Moreover, the Corn Laws were passed in 1815 to protect British farmers. Extremes tend to bring about reactions, and it soon needed no theoretical doctrine to reveal that import duties were not only adding to the general distress by making necessities expensive, but were crippling British home trade by destroying the purchasing power of the public.

The Merchants' Petition of 1820 summarized admirably the Free Traders' point of view, which was supported to a considerable extent by the group of young Tories who entered the ministry in 1822, Huskisson, Peel, and Canning. In 1822 and 1828 modifications were made in the Corn Law and in 1825 a number of import duties was reduced. In 1836 an Anti-Corn-Law Association was formed in London and, in 1838, the more active Anti-Corn-Law League was formed in Manchester, with Cobden and Bright its most active and eloquent supporters.

The main problem which faced the minister willing to reduce the import duties was to find an alternative source of revenue, especially as the national expenditure, in 1841, already exceeded the income by some £2 million. Peel, Prime Minister from 1841 to 1846, solved the problem by re-introducing the income tax at 7d. in the £ for three years. The duties on 750 imports were reduced, some to merely nominal amounts. The deficit was met, trade improved, and, so satisfactory was the experiment that in 1845 the income tax was renewed, the duties on 430 imported raw materials were abolished or further reduced, and export duties were abolished.

In 1846 the Corn Law of 1815 was repealed; duties on imported corn were to be immediately reduced, and, after 1849, were to have disappeared except for a registration charge of 1s. per quarter on wheat, oats, and barley.

Gladstone continued Peel's policy in 1853 when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Aberdeen's ministry, he reduced the duties on 133 articles and abolished the duty on soap. Further adventures in Free Trade were halted by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, but Gladstone's great budget of 1860, together with the Cobden commercial treaty with France in that year, practically completed the work and made Britain for a time a free-trade country.

2. Behind the Free Trade movement was the idealistic philosophy which believed that human life was not necessarily a jungle-like struggle in which the strongest, the most cunning, or the most unscrupulous alone had the chance of survival. It looked instead to a society in which men willingly and unselfishly co-operated for the general good and saw, in such co-operation, the only true freedom. This philosophy recognized too that such willing co-operative effort would benefit everybody, for it would avoid the wastage of warfare and would increase general human wealth by the free interchange of the world's goods. This view, shared by the Free Traders, was held very strongly by Albert, the Prince Consort, and, to encourage others to accept similar ideas, he was mainly responsible for the Great Exhibition of world goods to be held in London in 1851.

In 1845 Peel had removed the import duty from glass, and the cheapening of glass made possible the building of a Crystal Palace in Hyde Park for the housing of the exhibition. All nations were invited to exhibit, and of nearly 14,000 exhibitors 6,556 were from foreign countries. Opened by the Queen and Prince Albert on May Day, 1851, the exhibition remained open for five and a half months.

Though it failed to herald an era of peace and international co-operation, other international exhibitions followed, in New York, Dublin, Melbourne, Munich, Paris, and Rome, and the ideal it expressed still lives.

3. The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was an attempt to prove the strength and importance of human labour by bringing all workers into one vast organization with the specific object of arranging a "Sacred Month" in which no work was to be done. This, it was hoped, would end the exploitation of labour by proving that the production of all wealth and the general life of the community depended on it. Workers were to be organized in local lodges, which would send representatives to district or provincial lodges which, in turn, were in touch with a central grand lodge in London. Obedience was to be enforced by compelling members to take oaths at initiation ceremonies.

The scheme failed because (1) it was too cumbersome and unwieldy to function; (2) because the workers could not have survived a month without wages; (3) because the employers took action against men known to be members; and (4) because the government made an example of a number of members from the Dorset village of Tolpuddle, by finding them guilty of taking and administering oaths illegally and transporting them in chains to the convict settlement in New South Wales.

The Labour Exchanges were founded on the idea that the value of necessary goods produced for sale should be based on the time taken to produce them. The medium of exchange was a paper acknowledgement that so many hours labour had been performed, and this entitled the holder to exchange it for goods which had taken an equal time to produce. The scheme failed because it neglected other factors of exchange-valuation, such as the factor of relative scarcity which in turn depended on relative skills and relative availability and value of raw materials. When shopkeepers agreed to use the exchange tickets in their shops, it was obviously easy for any quick-witted knave to buy a cheap article and exchange it for a more expensive one which was as quickly produced as the cheaper one. All the Exchanges except a Birmingham one were rapidly bankrupt.

The Model Communities expressed the basic principle of Communism, that the productive capacity of each individual should be solely devoted to the service of

the community of which he is a member. Small communities of about a thousand were formed to put this theory into practice. Such communities were to be self-supporting, which was implied in the idea that all work was for the communal needs and not, therefore, for production for sale or profit. As this cut off from such communities the wealth of outside communities available only through exchange, it meant in practice a very impoverished form of life. Unless a community is sufficiently large to include within it an adequate supply of all the materials of the world and all the skills and capacities of the human race it must remain poorer than it need if it insist on absolute independence.

CHAPTER XXII

1. The word "liberal" as applied to one of the great political parties in Britain did not come into general use until Gladstone became its leader after Palmerston's death in 1865. The term, however, had been applied to the more advanced members of the old Whig Party much earlier in the century. For some time it had many varied and vague meanings, but to Palmerston it usually described the popular movements for freedom against tyrannical government. In 1815 Britain had signed a Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Russia and Prussia, the victors in the wars against Napoleon. One of the functions of this alliance, as interpreted by its signatories, was to maintain the restored monarchies which had been overthrown during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. When these monarchies became reactionary and oppressive, and when the members of the alliance proceeded to intervene on behalf of such monarchies when their oppression stirred up revolutionary movements, British love of freedom led Canning, Foreign Secretary in 1822, to adopt a policy of non-intervention. It led Palmerston in turn to adopt a policy of vigorous intervention on behalf of the oppressed peoples. This was Palmerston's interpretation of Liberalism.

It was not Gladstone's. Always opposed to interference of any kind with foreign nations, Gladstone himself stated that the first principle of foreign policy was sound legislation at home. To him Liberalism meant progressive domestic legislation

founded on freedom of social development, a democratic electorate, a national system of education, and an idealistic conception of human relationships

2. The Conservative Party evolved from the older Tory Party, and began to be distinguished from it when the Tories' support of vested interests became so reactionary as to oppose any reforms however nationally desirable. As the name suggests, the Conservatives in general have supported stability rather than change, and, while accepting the necessity for progressive reform, have aimed at conserving the main form of any existing order rather than supporting innovations. It was this view of conservatism which Peel expressed in his political Manifesto in 1834. After the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 had split the old Tory Party into Protectionists and Free Traders, the latter were known sometimes as Peelites and sometimes as Liberal Conservatives. With Gladstone, himself a Peelite, the Free Trade party became the leavening body of the new Liberalism, and it was mainly the work of Disraeli to reconstruct and to give a defined policy to the Conservatives.

The vastly extended electorates brought about by the reform acts made a literal conservatism impossible, and in opposition to the policy of the Gladstonian Liberals the new Conservative Party fostered extensive social reforms, and a rather jingoistic imperialism. In its support of the Church, the monarchy, the House of Lords, the Empire, and, later, a mercantilist economic policy of protective tariffs, conservatism continued in general to justify its name.

3. The Political Reform Act of 1867 redistributed parliamentary seats and extended the franchise.

Including the Bills for Scotland and Ireland (1868), parliamentary seats were redistributed in the following ways: 6 boroughs returning 2 members and 5 returning 1 were disfranchised; 35 boroughs lost 1 member each.

Of the 52 seats thus freed, 22 were given to boroughs, 27 to the counties, 1 to London University, 2 to the Scottish universities.

The franchise was extended in the towns to all adult male householders, and to lodgers paying £10 a year rent and who

had remained in the same lodging for a year. In the counties the rating qualification was reduced from £15 to £12.

By these changes the electorate was increased from about 1,350,000 to about 2,245,000 voters. Of these changes Robert Lowe wrote: "The bag which holds the winds will be untied, and we shall be surrounded by a perpetual whirl of change, alteration, innovation, and revolution."

The Political Reform Act of 1884-85 also redistributed parliamentary seats and extended the franchise. All boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants were disfranchised and merged into the counties. Except for twenty-two towns and certain universities the whole country was divided into single-member constituencies. By bringing the county franchise into line with that of the towns the agricultural workers were enfranchised and some two million voters were added to the register.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. The reader is asked to consider for a moment a struggle for national existence and independence which, earlier in the century, was taking place in Italy. In 1815 the word "Italy" was "a geographical expression" only; it was the name of a peninsula in which a number of separate principalities, most of which were under the indirect control of Austria, existed side by side. Out of this condition emerged a vigorous spirit of nationalism, fostered by a body known as "Young Italy," determined to create an Italian nation, and expressed in fervent emotional poetry. Britain, with no direct interest in Italy or Austria, could observe this struggle objectively and sympathetically, and the final success of the struggle was in part due to Britain's sympathetic attitude towards the nationalist movement. The value of this illustration is that the Irish struggle was in many respects similar. The poems quoted reveal better than does anything else the intense and emotional fervour of the new spirit of Irish nationalism. They reveal that the Irish nationalists were prepared to sacrifice anything in order to achieve this national independence. They reveal that Ireland was no longer concerned with the remedying of grievances but with the creation of an independent Irish nation.

They show, too, that the Irish were no longer an inarticulate and depressed people but a people who, through the Young Ireland Party, were fully conscious of their aim, clear as to what it entailed, and determined to achieve it. England was to Ireland very much what Austria had been to Italy, and could not view the Irish nationalist uprising with the same objective impartiality or nationalist sympathy with which she had viewed the Italian struggle.

2. Gladstone at the time of his first ministry believed that Anglo-Irish relations of many years had left the Irish with three classes of justified grievance. First was the anomaly of the Anglican Church in Ireland, which, though probably less than an eighth of the Irish population was Protestant, enjoyed the privileges of establishment and a revenue of nearly £700,000 a year. Second, the landlord-tenant relation in Ireland, never completely grasped in England, and aggravated by the unsympathetic attitude of English Protestant landlords, provided a second group of problems. Third, Gladstone wished to provide Irish Roman Catholics with opportunities for higher education at the time enjoyed only by Protestants.

By the Act of 1869 the Anglican Church in Ireland was disestablished and disendowed. The Land Act of 1870 entitled tenants to claim compensation for disturbance or capricious eviction, and, when leaving, for any unexhausted improvements they had made during tenancy. Help was given to tenants to buy their holdings, and tenants were to be protected from eviction so long as they continued to pay the rent demanded. The University Bill of 1873, which attempted to remedy the third kind of grievance, was defeated.

Conceived as a means of fulfilling a mission to pacify Ireland, these measures must, of course, have failed. The Church Act carried out a necessary reform and ended an absurdly anomalous situation, but the Irish at this time were not especially concerned with this problem. The Land Act did not solve the land problem, for landlords could still raise rents beyond the capacity of tenants to pay them, they could enforce tenants to accept special "agreements" contrary to the spirit of the Act, and the purchase of property depends on

more than the legal right to do so. The third grievance remained as it was until 1879, when Disraeli tackled it more skilfully. But Gladstone, at this time, failed completely to recognize the significance of the nationalist movement, and, in a speech at Aberdeen, in September, 1871, denounced any such scheme of "disintegration" as one which would make us "ridiculous in the sight of all mankind."

3. One argument against the granting of Home Rule to Ireland was used by Gladstone in the speech mentioned in the previous answer: it was that it would "cripple any power we possess for bestowing benefits, through legislation, on the country," the country for which England presumably recognized some responsibility. This argument had especial force when Ireland was in a state of political, social, and economic upheaval. A second argument was that the granting of independence to Ireland would be a betrayal of the Protestant minority in Ireland. A third argument was that the Unionists regarded the granting of Home Rule as a step which might lead to further disintegration of the British Empire.

To the first of these arguments it could be replied, as to a similar argument used against the granting of self-government to India more recently, that enforced imperial occupation does not imply such responsibility, that there was no evidence to show that external assistance was necessary, and that there was nothing to prevent such assistance from being given after independence had been granted, should it have been sought. To the second argument it seems reasonable to urge that the centuries of trouble which had been caused by the English protection of a Protestant minority to the detriment of the Irish and Roman Catholic population did not provide a reason for perpetuating so anomalous a condition. In answer to the third argument subsequent history has shown that the willing co-operation of independent peoples is a far stronger bond than can be forged by coercive imperialism.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century Britain had come to think of herself as essentially an industrial country,

dependent on her manufactures for her wealth, and quite willing to buy foods from abroad in return for her manufactured exports. The townsfolk had begun to look for greater varieties of food than could be produced at home, and to expect to be able to buy them "out of season." The westward expansion of the U.S.A. and Canada into the rich lands which, when developed, could have fed the world, and the building of transcontinental railways, provided sources of food against which British farmers could not hope to compete. Australia and the Argentine were selling at almost any price corn which they had planted on land intended later for pasture. If British farmers turned from the growing of corn to the production of meat or to dairying, they were to discover that they could not compete with Australia and New Zealand after the development of refrigeration and rapid sea-transport made available in British markets the produce of the other side of the world. Distressed farmers could do little to improve the lot of their labourers, whose wages had not risen though the purchasing power of money had fallen, particularly after the inflationary effect of the discovery of gold in Australia and South Africa.

2. Before the end of the nineteenth century the theoretical idealism of the Liberal Party had begun to look thin against the background of commercial and industrial rivalry which characterized domestic and foreign relations. The doctrine of international co-operation and brotherhood began to sound like the nebulous theorizing of armchair philosophy when nations were in fact scrambling to seize for imperial development whatever fragments of territory Britain's long lead in this field had left available. Britain was intensely proud of her imperial pre-eminence, and even the dignified Elgar could teach Britain to sing that "wider still and wider" should her bounds be set. The frank imperialism of the Conservatives seemed a vastly more realistic and attractive policy, especially when a dilatory and peace-loving Liberalism could sacrifice so popular a hero as General Gordon. Free Trade had seemed a sound economic policy when British trade and industry had no significant rivals in either field. It seemed far

less attractive when British manufacturers found themselves in growing competition with those of other nations where cheaper labour, lower profits, newer machinery, or better organization robbed them of their markets. It seemed less attractive, too, when foreign competitors closed their ports to British commodities except at the cost of duties which placed British goods at a disadvantage.

In domestic politics liberalism had tended to concentrate on that type of reform which Disraeli had stigmatized as conferring only "barren privileges," whereas the Conservatives had become associated with the more generally practical kinds of social reform. Finally, national education, better conditions of work and living accommodation, and political enfranchisement led to the gradual formation of a new political party which was to challenge far more effectively than liberalism had done the philosophy of the survival of the fittest, the philosophy on which the imperial, foreign, and economic policies of the Conservatives were based.

3. The major tragedy of the twentieth century is that it has had to endure two world wars of unprecedented horror and brutal destructiveness, and which have resulted only in dividing humanity into two hostile groups. A peculiarly British major tragedy is that, while clinging in the main to a humane and co-operative view of society, she is sandwiched between a materialistic capitalism which she has outgrown and an equally materialistic communism which she has never favoured.

The world wars were certainly foreshadowed in the nineteenth century. Germany had become a predominant European Power solely by the exercise of brute force. Jealous of Britain's imperial and commercial superiority, believing that imperial possessions were necessary for the provision of markets and raw materials, and certain that Britain would not willingly hand over to Germany any of her "possessions," it seemed necessary to Germany that some of these possessions should be transferred to Germany by force. French fear of Germany, Italy's sense of unjust inferiority, in general the international greed, jealousies, suspicions, born of an age-old mercantilism and the Spencerean

philosophy that subordinated human relations to the natural law of the jungle, were all present in the nineteenth century.

The related tragedy, which divides humanity into three opposed ideologies and two opposed power-groups, is fundamentally the same tragedy. The conflict of views as to the relation of the individual to the society of which he is a member is similar to the conflict of views about the relation of nations to the world society. The three ideologies which are significant all found expression in theory and in practice in the nineteenth century. The capitalistic view with its mercantilist economy was generally practised and found plenty of philosophical apologists. The communist view, equally materialistic, with its complete subordination of the individual to some abstract and mechanized conception of the State, found expression in the writings of Engels, Marx and others, and, in embryo, was practised in Robert Owen's Model Communities. The idealistic view of a freely co-operative brotherhood of mankind found expression in early liberalism, in the writings of the Oxford Idealists, and in those of the Christian Socialists and others. The reversal in this century to the widespread belief that human actions are dominated either by greed or fear is perhaps the greatest of world tragedies.

CHAPTER XXV

1 It is always misleading to divide history into Ages, especially when the end of one century and the beginning of another, or the death of one sovereign and the accession of another, be taken as the year of demarcation. The Government did not change when Queen Victoria died: Britain was still ruled by the Conservatives under the Cecil family—Lord Salisbury and Arthur Balfour. The outstanding social and political problems remained the same—the Irish question, the task of reforming the education system, and the struggle with the Boers. Nor did the book of manners and morals turn a new leaf in 1901.

2. The Conservatives had been in power for ten years and the electorate was likely to want a change. The Party had been weakened by the split between the extreme tariff-reformers who followed Chamberlain

and the very moderate reformers who rallied round Balfour. Much more important was the fact that the country as a whole, after listening to the debates between free-traders and tariff-reformers for three years had decided in favour of Free Trade: this made the victory of the Liberals inevitable.

3. The British Labour Party grew from two roots: first from the industrial organization of workers, spreading from the skilled to the unskilled trades, and secondly from the political agitation of Socialists such as Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald and Blatchford. The two were amalgamated in the Labour Representation Committee which consisted of trade unions and their Socialist organizations the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society. At the election of 1906, 29 L.R.C. members were returned to the House of Commons, when they called themselves the Labour Party. Other working-class M.P.s who had been returned as representatives of the Miners' Federation or as independents were soon included in the Party.

4. The last Liberal Government will be remembered more for its domestic reforms than for its policy in foreign affairs and rearmament. Apart from improving working-class conditions by a reform of the workhouses and by the Trades Disputes Act, it made a number of important moves towards social security, by fixing wages in certain sweated trades, by introducing non-contributory old-age pensions and contributory insurance against illness and unemployment. By the Act of 1911 the Liberal Government reduced the maximum life of any Parliament from seven years to five and weakened the House of Lords by depriving it of the right to veto a Money Bill and to hold up any other Bill for more than three years.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. The threat to British sea power and commerce played a large part in bringing the country into war with Germany in 1914. If the British Navy had not been able to keep open the supply lines to the armies in Flanders and finally to blockade Germany, the defeat of our continental enemies would have been impossible. If Britain had not

been able to defeat the U-boats in 1917, the country would have been starved into surrender. It was command of the sea which enabled Britain to provision herself and to maintain attacks on the Central Powers on every front from Flanders to Mesopotamia.

2. In the spring of 1917 the submarine campaign reached its greatest intensity, the British Army suffered fearful losses at Passchendaele, our Italian allies were beaten at Caporetto and our Russian allies collapsed. For the rest of that year, before the American armies were trained and in position on the Western Front, the course of the war continued to go against us, and the crisis continued until the Germans' spring offensive of 1918 was successfully held.

3. The comparative deterioration of Britain's economic position had started before 1914 but it was greatly increased by the war. Other countries, which had already begun to compete in the industrial market before the war, had been forced by 1918 to even greater self-sufficiency. Among other things, they had been forced to build their own merchant ships and so Britain lost much of her immensely lucrative carrying trade. The cost of this war, too, turned Britain from being the great creditor nation of the world into a debtor to the United States. On top of this Britain lost many of her ablest men in the course of this costliest of wars.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. Fighting began in a nationalist rising in Dublin in Easter Week, 1916. By 1918 the movement for Irish independence had grown so strong that force could not suppress it. For two and a half years there was war between the British and the Irish Nationalists. This was followed by a civil war between the Nationalists themselves, the issue being whether Britain's offer of Dominion status should be accepted or whether Ireland should stand out for complete sovereign independence.

2. The first Labour Government depended for its majority in the House of Commons on the votes of the Liberals. It could not hope, therefore, to pass any Socialist legislation. In domestic policy, the Liberals allowed it to pass some reforms

for the working class. In foreign policy, the Liberals favoured MacDonald's policy of easing the pressure on Germany, but his policy of opening negotiations with Soviet Russia was distrusted. MacDonald's uncertain attitude towards Communists in Russia and in England was the immediate cause of his Government's downfall.

3. The changes were all in the direction of self-government. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were recognized as self-governing States, their Dominion status being defined in the Statute of Westminster, 1931. There was a gradual development towards self-government for India. In Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan, for which Britain had accepted mandatory responsibility, the policy was to prepare the various peoples for independence. The policy of Indirect Rule was extended in tropical Africa. Thus in various degrees and at varying tempo the component parts of the British Empire were being emancipated.

4. Since 1929 prices had been falling and international trade dwindling. Britain could not find markets for her exports, and early in 1931 there were 2,600,000 unemployed. The Macmillan Report and the May Report showed the world that Britain's financial and budgetary positions were unsound. American bankers became disinclined to lend more money to Britain while the Government was spending so much on unemployment relief. Even when that relief was cut, foreigners still distrusted Britain's solvency and went on withdrawing their money from London. The Government had no alternative but to go off the gold standard in September 1931.

5. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and the League of Nations took no action; indeed there was no effective action that it could have taken while both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. were not members of the League. Hitler became ruler of Germany in 1933 and no action was taken against him when he violated the treaties by introducing conscription and re-militarizing the Rhineland. Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and the League took no effective steps to restrain him. Hitler's invasion of Austria in 1938 went undeterred and his annexation of part of Czechoslovakia was connived at by Britain and France as well as by Italy.

By the spring of 1939 it was clear that further German aggression could be stopped by no means short of war.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. Hitler had been preparing for war for at least four years before 1939; Germany's mass-production of armaments had reached its height when that of other nations had hardly begun. German tactics, especially in the use of armoured divisions combined with air force, were vastly superior to those of other nations. Having a pact with the U.S.S.R., Hitler had no need to fear a war on two fronts. Germany was fighting on interior lines, and had no compunction about attacking through the territory of neutral states. Her attacks were helped by her Italian ally and by "fifth columns" in the victimized nations.

2. In the summer of 1940 Britain was the only nation left in arms against Germany. After Dunkirk, Britain had no army left. The navy depended on the protection of fighter planes. Only Fighter Command stood between Britain and invasion. Most people on the Continent thought that Britain would sue for peace. When Britain fought on, most people thought that the *Luftwaffe* would be strong enough to overwhelm Fighter Command. They were wrong. The British inflicted such losses on the German squadrons that Hitler cancelled his plans for invasion. Meanwhile the Battle of Britain had had the very opposite effect on British morale to that which Hitler had intended: it had strengthened their unity and determination.

3. During the First World War scarcely any plans were made for peace settlement. The British and French leaders did not meet the American President, whose Fourteen Points were not even accepted officially. During the Second World War, Churchill met Roosevelt and Stalin often; this Atlantic Charter was accepted by all belligerents against Germany; international organizations were set up for relief and rehabilitation, for financing international trade, and for preserving the future peace of the world. The Charter of the United Nations was drawn up in such a way as to ensure that this organization, unlike the League of Nations, would have the Great Powers of America and Russia as foundation members.

4. The main object of Britain's foreign policy, under Mr. Attlee's, as under Mr. Churchill's Government, was to base the peace settlement in close co-operation with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., within the framework of the United Nations. This policy broke down through failure to secure Russian co-operation. On the German, Austrian, Korean and a dozen other questions no agreement could be reached, and by the end of 1947 the British Government had to change its policy to one of Western Union. By the European Recovery Programme, the O.E.E.C., the Brussels Pact between Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, the Atlantic Pact between the U.S.A., Canada, and the West European Powers, a firmer though more partial foundation for peace settlement was laid.

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